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ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON: ADJUSTMENT AND INTERGRATION

Volume I

A Research Report

Prepared for

The Royal Commission On
Bilingualism and Biculturalism

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPT	ER	PAGE
I.	PLAN OF THE STUDY	. 1
	Introduction, 1; The Present Study, 4; Theoretical Organization of the Present Study, 6; The Data, 9; The Interview Schedule, 10; The Interview Team, 13; The Sample, 15; Organization of the Remainder of the Monograph, 21.	
II.	ITALIAN IMMIGRATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE ITALIAN	
	COMMUNITY IN EDMONTON	23
	Italian Immigration to Canada, 23; Background to the Immigration, 23; Early Migration to Canada, 24; The Post-War Immigration, 27; Italians in Alberta and in Edmonton, 30; The Italian Community in Edmonton, 33; The Italian Community Today, 34; Description of the Italian Community, 39; Formal Associational Life of the Italian Community, 44; The Church, 44; Other Organizations in the Italian Community, 49; Informal Organizations, 52; The Place of the Family, 52; Family Relationships, 53; Conclusion, 56.	
III.	ITALIANS IN EDMONTON: THE UNIVERSE AND THE SAMPLE	58
	Demographic Characteristics of Italians in Edmonton, 61; The Census Data, 61; The Sample Data, 63; The Process of Movement to Canada, 67; Census Data, 67; Sample Data, 69; Residential and Family Patterns of Italians in Edmonton, 75; Census Data, 75; Sample Data, 82; Educational, Occupational and Social Class Characteristics, 91; Census Data, 91; Sample Data, 98; Linguistin Proficiency of Italians in Edmonton, 105; Census Data, 105; Sample Data, 107; Summary, 110.	
IV.	THE STRUCTURE AND CULTURE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY AND	
	THE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE MEMBER	114
	Family Size and Structure, 114; Primary Associations, 130; Religious and Political Participation and Attitudes, 133; Political Participation and Attitudes, 137; Associational Memberships, 145; Mass MediaExposure and Use, 149; Magazines and Newspapers, 153; Leisure Time Activities, 160; Values and Orientations to Life, 163; Personality Characteristics, 171; Psychological Reactions to Canada, 182; Work Motivations, 189; Summary, 192.	- 31

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TERNAMENTAL AND TO THE TANK THE TOTAL TO THE TOTAL TO THE TANK THE TOTAL TO THE TANK THE TOTAL TO THE TANK THE TANK THE TOTAL THE TANK THE TOTAL THE TANK THE TOTAL THE TANK T

COMMUNICATION OF STREET, STREE

Tigitan lamigration to Canada, 23; Sentground to the insignation. 23; Sarty Migration to Canada, 24; The Freel-Man Landgration, 37; Maintens in Alberta and in Edmanton, 30; The Italian Community in Assentan. 23; Station Community, 30; Formal Assoniational Life of the Limitan Community, 30; Formal Assoniational Life of the Limitanian Community, 44; Doctor of the Community, 45; Indianal Co

III. ITALIANS IN EDWARDS, THE UNIVERSE AND THE SAMPLE

Semographic Characteristics of Italians in Admonson, bill The Consus Date, bil The Semple Date, bil The Process of Movement to Consus Date, by Garcus Date, by Garcus Date, by Garcus of Italians Date, by Seminary Dates and Partie Dates of Italians an Educational, Discount Cate, by Garcus Characteristics, bis Consus Characteristics, bis Consus Characteristics, bis Consus Date, by Sanate Date, bis Cansus Date, bis Sanate Date, bis Cansus Catus Dates Dates, bis Sanate Date, Dates Dates, bis Summary, 100, Sanate Dates, 107; Summary, 110.

IV. THE STRUCTURE AND CULTURE OF THE TYLLIAM COMMUNITY AND

Family Size and Structure, 180; fricum: Ausculations, 130;
Religious and Political Participation and Attitudes, 188;
Political Participation and Attitudes, 137; Associational
Simple Column 180; Mais Audia--- Spaure and Day, 140;
Magazines and Newspapers, 153; leigher Time Activities,
160; Values and Orientations to 174; Personality
Contentations; 171; Psychological Rescribes to Innada,
182; Mark Mathystons, 189; Summery, 192.

CHAP	TER		PAGE
PART	II.	ANALYTIC SECTION OF THE REPORT	194
V.	ADJ	USTMENT OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS TO EDMONTON, AND THEIR	
	s	ATISFACTION WITH LIFE THERE	197
	T	he Indices of Economic Adjustment, 197; The Indices of Social Adjustment, 206; The Indices of Personal Adjustment, 207; Pre-Migration Variables and Economic Adjustment of Sample Members, 211; Post-Migration Variables and Economic Adjustment of Sample Members, 217; Pre- and Post-Migration Variables and Social Adjustment, 222; Pre-Migration Variables, 222; Post-Migration Variables, 224; Pre-Migration Variables and Personal Adjustment, 227; Post-Migration Variables and Personal Adjustment, 230; Ecological Variables, 230; Interpersonal Interaction Variables, 232; Cultural Exposure Variables, 232; Social Class Variables, 234; The Indices of Satisfaction with Living in Canada, 236; Pre-Migration Variables and Satisfaction with Living in Canada, 241; Demographic Variables 241; Ecological Variables, 244; Italian Social Status Indices, 245; Personality Indices, 245; Post-Migration Variables and Satisfaction with Living in Canada, 247; Ecological Variables, 247; Interpersonal Interaction Indices, 247; Indices of Cultural Exposure, 249; Social Status Indices, 251; Conclusions, 254.	
VI.	INT	EGRATION INTO CANADIAN SOCIETY	261
		he Integration Indices, 262; Ecological Integration, 262; Social Integration, 262; Political Integration, 264, Economic Integration, 268; Religious Integration, 271; Linguistic Integration, 272; Pre-Migration Variables and Ecological Integration, 274; Post-Migration Variables and Ecological Integration, 278; Pre-Migration Variables and Social Integration, 282; Post-Migration Variables and Social Integration, 287; Pre-Migration Variables and Political Integration, 292; Post-Migration Variables and Political Integration, 296; Pre-Migration Variables and Economic Integration, 299; Post-Migration Variables and Economic Integration, 303; Pre- and Post-Migration Variables and Religious Integration, 306; Pre-Migration Variables and Linguistic Integration, 311; Post-Migration Variables and Linguistic Integration, 314.	les nd
VII.		TA SECTION CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF THE P	318
	II	ndices of Identification with Italian Culture, 319; Aspira- tions for Children, Ideal Number of Children and Child	-

RETURNS

THEY SHE SHITTED SHIT TO VOLTERS DILYLAND HE TEN

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The interpretation of the partition and partition of the partition of the

indices of Identification with Tialian College and College with College to College and Col

CHAPTER PAGE

Dominance, 320; Value Identifications, 324; Other Value Choices, 325; Success, Independence and Popularity Values, 326; Leisure Time Activities, 326; Criteria in Buying a House, 326; Identification with Italian Culture and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables, 327; Pre-Migration Variables, 327; Post-Migration Variables, 330; Pre- and Post-Migration Variables, Ideal Number of Children and Child Dominance and Aspirations for Children and Realism of Aspirations, 334: Pre-Migration Variables, 334; Post-Migration Variables, 337; Value Identification Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables, 341; Pre-Migration Variables, 341; Post-Migration Variables, 343; Success, Independence and Popularity Values and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables, 347; Pre-Migration Variables, 347; Post-Migration Variables, 347; Pre- and Post-Migration Variables and Values as Reflected in Leisure Time Activities, 352; Criteria in Choice of a House, 356; Summary, 361.

The Indices of Repudiation of Italian Ways, 367; The Indices of Interaction with Canadians, 369; Pre-Migration Variables and Repudiation of Italian Ways, 370; Pre-Migration Variables and Interaction with Canadians, 372; Post-Migration Variables and Rejection of Italian Ways, 374; Post-Migration Variables and Interaction with Canadians, 377.

IX. SEX DIFFERENCES IN INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT

Sex Differences in the Adjustment Processes, 381; Economic Adjustment, 382; Social Adjustment, 387; Personal Adjustment, 390; Sex Differences in Satisfaction with Life in Canada, 393; Sex Differences in the Integration Process, 398; Ecological Integration, 398; Italian Social Integration, 401; Social Integration with Non-Italians, 405; Political Integration, 408; Economic Integration, 411; Religious Integration; 414; Linguistic Integration, 416; Sex Differences in Acculturation Processes, 419; Identification with the Italian Culture; 419; Acculturation Indices, 422; Value Identifications, 424; Sex Differences in Assimilative Processes, 431; Repudiation of Italian Ways, 430; Pro-Canadian Indications, 434; Sex Differences in Naturalization to Canadian Citizenship, 438; Summary, 440.

CHAPI	TER	PAGE
х.	PREDICTIVE POWER OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, A SUMMARY	447
	The Independent Variables, 447; Frequency of Association of the Dependent Variables, 453; Sex Differences, 456; The Dependent Variable Categories, 465; Summary, 473.	
XI.	THE DETERMINANTS OF ACCOMMODATION: A FACTORIAL ANALYSIS	477
	<pre>Introduction, 477; The Factor Analysis, 479; Factor Analysis of the Personality Variables, 480; Factor Analysis of the Accommodation Variables, 487; The Multiple Regression Analysis, 494; Discussion, 505;</pre>	
XII.	PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION AND DEVIANCE	512
	Disturbed Behavior Among Italians in Edmonton, 514; Data From Case Records, 516; Criminal Deviance Among Italians in Edmonton, 525; The Interview Data, 525; The Gaol Record Data, 530; Summary, 543.	rd
XIII.	ACCOMMODATION OF ITALIANS AND UKRAINIANS TO CANADIAN	
	SOCIETY: A COMPARISON	547
	Characteristics of the Two Samples, 547; Correlates of Ukrainian Adjustment to Canadian Society, 550; Economic Adjustment, 551; Social Adjustment, 556; Personal Adjustment, 558; Conclusion, 562; Correlates of Satisfaction with Canada Among Ukrainians, 563; Correlates of Ukrainian: Integration into Canadian Society, 567; Social Integration, 567; Political Integration, 569; Economic Integration, 572; Religious Integration, 574; Conclusion, 574; Correlates of Ukrainian acculturation, 5 Correlates of Assimilation of Ukrainians, 581; The Cumulative Pattern: The Independent Variables, 585; The Cumulative Pattern: The Dependent Variables, 588; Summary, 592; Summary, 593.	77;
XIV.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	596
	The Study, 596; The Plan of the Analysis, 597; The Findings, 600; The Gross Analysis, 603; The Independent Variables, 607; Sex Differences, 608; The Multi-Variate Analysis, 611; Comparison with the Ukrainian Study, 614; The Future of the Italian Community in Edmonton, 619.	



LIST OF TABLES

TABL	E - CHAPTER I	P	AGE
I.	Disposition of Interview Sample		18
CHAP	TER II		
I.	Average Number of Italian Immigrants Entering Canada Yearly For Selected Periods, 1876 - 1929	•	26
II.	Number of Italians Entering Canada Annually Since World War II, By Year	•	29
III.	People of Italian Ethnic Origin, in Canada, In Alberta, and in Edmonton, for the Decades 1901 through 1961	•	32
CHAP	TER III		
· I.	Age-Sex Composition of Four Ethnic Origins Groups for all Ag and Aged 20 and Over, Percentages only and with Sex Ratios		
II.	Age-Sex Distribution of Sample Members, with Percentages	•	64
III.	Birthplaces of Sample Members, By Sex, With Percentages	•	66
IV.	Dates of Immigration to Canada, by Ethnic Origins and by Foreign Born Categories for Census Data and Sample Data, Percentages Only	•	68
V.	Type of Movement During 1951-1961 of Members of Four Ethnic Groups Who Are Post-War Immigrants to Alberta	•	70
VI.	Year of Arrival in Canada of Sample Members, by Sex	•	71
VII.	Duration of Residence in Canada of Sample Members, by Sex .	•	73
VIII.	Age of Sample Members on Arrival in Canada, by Sex	•	7 4
IX.	Places of Residence in Canada, of Sample Members, by Sex	•	76
X.	Intermarriage Rates of Household Heads of British, Germans, Italians, and Ukrainians, for Edmonton by Period of Immigration	•	78
XI.	Percentage of Normal Families: Average Size of Family, Average Number of Children: and Percentage of Working Wives, of British, German, Italian, and Ukrainian Origins Groups in Edmonton	•	79



TABL	JE	PAGE
CHAP	TER III (Continued)	
XII.	Residential Patterns of British, German, Italian and Ukrainian Families in Edmonton, By Period of Immigration	. 8]
XIII.	Family Types of Italian Families in Edmonton, By Period of Immigration	. 83
XIV.	Residential Experience of Sample Members by Sex and Duration of Residence in Canada	. 84
XV.	Areas to Which Subjects in the Sample Would Like to Move, By Sex and Duration of Canadian Residency	. 86
XVI.	Reasons Given for Wanting to Move by Sample Members by Age and Sex	. 88
xvII.	Levels of School of Four Foreign Born Ethnic Groups in Edmon 1961 by Period of Immigration and by Citizenship Status.	
xvIII.	Labor Force Occupation of Four Ethnic Groups In Edmonton .	. 94
XIX.	Occupation by Birthplace of British, German, Italian and Ukrainian Foreign Born Groups in Current Experienced Labour Force in Alberta	. 96
XX.	Years of Schooling of Sample Members by Age and Sex	. 99
XXI.	Hollinghead Classification of Occupations of Male Sample Members and Husbands of Female Sample Members by Age and Duration	. 104
XXII.	Official Language of Four Foreign Born Ethnic Groups by Period of Immigration	. 106
XXIII.	Languages Spoken to Mate and to Children and Between Childre by Sex, Age, and Duration of Canadian Residence	
CHAP:	TER IV	
I.	Ideal Number of Children Suggested by Sample Members by Sex-Age and Sex-Duration	. 116
II.	Attitudes Toward Use of Birth Control Devices of Sample Members by Age and Sex, and Sex-Duration	. 117
III.	Responses of Sample Members to Items Dealing with Division of Authority Between Husbands and Wives by Age, Sex, and Duration	. 120



TABLE			PAGE
CHAPT	ER IV (Continued)		
IV.	Responses of Sample Members to Items Dealing with Women Working by Age, Sex, and Duration	• •	122
V.	Responses of Sample Members to Items Dealing with Family of Father by Age, Sex, and Duration	Rol	e 125
VI.	Number of Close Personal Friends of Sample Members, by Age, Sex, and Sex Duration	• •	131
VII.	Membership in Various Types of Organizations of Sample Members by Sex and Duration of Canadian Residence		148
VIII.	Reading of Italian and English Newspapers and Magazines by Sex, Age, and Duration		154
IX.	Sources of Information cited by Sample Members by Source and by Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Groups	• •	156
Х.	Leisure Time Activities Mentioned First by Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Groups . C	• •	161
XI.	Values Rated First by Sample Members by Age-Sex Groups .	• •	164
XII.	Values held as Most Important by Sex-Duration Groups	• •	166
XIII.	Choice Between Three Values by Age-Sex Groupings		167
XIV.	Criteria Mentioned in Buying a House by Age-Sex Groups .	• •	170
xv.	Mean Neuroticism Scores for Italian and Ukrainian Sample, Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Sub-Groups		175
XVI.	Mean Extraversion Scores for Italian and Ukrainian Sample by Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Sub-Groups		177
XVII.	Mean Dogmatism Scores for Italian and Ukrainian Samples by Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Sub-Groups,		179
VIII.	Mean Child Dominance Scores for Italian and Ukrainian Samp by Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Sub-Groups		181
XIX.	Mean Anomie Scores for Italian and Ukrainian Samples by Age Sex and Sex-Duration Sub-Groups		183
XX.	Mean Alienation Scores for Italian and Ukrainian Samples b Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Sub-Groups		186
XXI.	Mean Protestant Ethic Scores for Italian and Ukrainian Sam by Age-Sex and Sex-Duration Sub-Groups		



TABLE	E	PAGE
CHAP	TER V	
I.	Family Income of Sample Members and of Edmonton Residents .	. 199
II.	Mean Family Earnings for British, German, Italian and Ukrainian Origins Families in Edmonton and for Sample Members by Period of Immigration	. 200
III.	Hollingshead Occupational Categories of Jobs Held by Men at the Time of Interview, at Time of Last Employment in Italy, and at the Time of First Employment in Canada	. 203
IV.	Occupational Mobility of Subjects in Comparison with the First Work Position in Canada, Last Position Held in Italy and the Occupational Level of the Father	205
V.	Responses to Selected Items Reflecting Personal Maladjust- ment	. 210
VI.	Interrelationships Between Pre-Migration Variables and Economic Adjustment Indices	. 212
VII.	Interrelationships Between Post-Migration Variables and Economic Adjustment Indices	. 219
VIII.	Interrelationships Between Social Adjustment Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	. 223
IX.	Interrelationships Between Social Adjustment Indices and Post	
Х.	Interrelationship Between Personal Adjustment Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	. 229
XI.	Interrelationships Between Personal Adjustment Indices and Post-Migration Variables	231
XII.	Distribution of Responses to Component Items of the Satisfaction Scale	. 238
XIII.	Interrelationships Btween Satisfaction Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	
XIV.	Interrelationships Between Satisfaction Indices and Post-Migration Variables	248
XV.	Mean Satisfaction Scores by Duration of Residence in Canada	250
XVI.	Number of Significant Relationships Between Pre-Migration Variables and Indices of Adjustment and Satisfaction	. 255
XVII.	Number of Significant Relationships Between Post-Migration Variables and Indices of Adjustment and Satisfaction • • •	257



TABLI		PAGE
CHAP	TER VI	
I.	Ratings of Importance of Politics by Sample Members	. 266
II.	Responses to Items Contraposing Italian Values and Economic Values	269
III.	Interrelationships Between Ecological Integration Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	. 275
IV.	Interrelationships Between Ecological Integration Indices and Post-Migration Variables	279
٧.	Relationship Between Social Integration Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	283
VI.	Interrelationship Between Social Integration Indices and Post-Migration Variables	288
VII.	Interrelationship Between Political Integration Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	
VIII.	Interrelationships Between Political Integration Indices and Post-Migration Variables	
IX.	Interrelationships Between Economic Integration Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	
х.	Interrelationships Between Economic Integration Variables a Post-Migration Variables	
XI.	Interrelationships Between Religious Integration Indices an Acculturation and Pre-Migration Variables	
XII.	Interrelationships Between Religious Integration and Acculturation Indices and Post-Migration Variables	309
XIII.	Relationship Between Linguistic Integration Indices and Pre Migration Variables	
XIV.	Relationship Between Linguistic Integration Indices and Pos Migration Variables	
CHAPT	TER VII	
I.	Distribution of Response to Four Items Indexing Involvement with Italian Culture,	



TABLE		PAGE
СНАРТ	TER VII (Continued)	
II.	Interrelationships Between Indices of Italian Identification and Pre-Migration Variables	328
III.	Interrelationships Between Indices of Italian Identification and Post-Migration Variables	331
IV.	Relationship Between Acculturation Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	335
V.	Interrelationships Between Acculturation Indices and Post-Migration Variables	338
VI.	Relationship Between Value Identification Indices and Pre- Migration Variables	342
VII.	Relationship Between Value Identification Indices and Post-Migration Variables	344
VIII.	Relationship Between Value Indices and Pre-Migration Variable	s 348
IX.	Relationship Between Value Indices and Post-Migration Variables	349
х.	Relationship Between Leisure Time Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	353
XI.	Relationship Between Leisure Time Indices and Post-Migration Variables	354
XII.	Relationship Between Criteria To Buy a House Indices and Pre-Migration Variables	357
KIII.	Relationship Between Criteria to Buy a House Indices and Post-Migration Variables	358
CHAPTI	ER VIII	
I.	Relationship Between Indices of Repudiation and Pre-Migration Variables	371
II.	Relationship Between Indices of Interaction with Canadians and Pre-Migration Variables	373
III.	Relationship Between Indices of Repudiation of Italianism and	375



TABLE		PAGE
CHAPT	TER VIII (Continued)	
IV.	Relationship Between Indices of Interaction with Canadians and Post-Migration Variables	. 378
CHAPT	TER IX	
I.	Dependent Variables Differentiating Male and Female Responses by Analytic Category	. 384
II.	Independent Variables Differentiating Male and Female Responses	
III.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Economic Adjustment Indices and Pre- and Post- Migration Variables	38
IV.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Social Adjustment Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
V.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Personal Adjustment Indices and Pre- and Post- Migration Variables	. 392
VI.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Satisfaction Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
VII.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Ecological Integration Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	1
VIII.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Social Integration Indices and Pre- and Post- Migration Variables	. 403
IX.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Non-Italian Social Integration Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
х.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Political Integration Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XI.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Economic Integration Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration	en . 413



TABLE		PAGE
CHAPTI	ER IX (Continued)	
XII.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Religious Integration Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XIII.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Linguistic Integration Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XIV.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Acculturation Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XV.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Acculturation indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XVI.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Value Identification Indices and Post-Migration Variables .	
XVII.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Criteria to Buy a House Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XVIII.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Indices of Repudiation of Italianways and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XIX.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Indices of Pre-Canadianism and Pre- and Post-Migration Variables	
XX.	Patterns of Male and Female Significant Relationships Between Naturalization Indices and Pre- and Post-Migration Variable	s 43
СНАРТ	ER X	
I.	Ranking of Independent Variables by Frequency of Significant Associations with Dependent Variables	448
II.	Ranking of Categories of Independent Variables in Terms of Frequency of Significant Association with Indices of Accommodation, Including Only Multiple Item Categories	452
III.	Ranking of Areas of Accommodation in Temms of Percentage of Significant Associations with the Independent Variables	454
IV.	Rankings of Independent Variables in Terms of Frequencies of Significant Associations with Indices of Accommodation for Males and Females, with Rank Differences	457



TABLE		PAGE
CHAPT	TER X (Continued)	
V.	Rankings of Areas of Accommodation in Terms of Percentages of Significant associations with Independent Variables with Rank Differences	. 466
СНАРТ	TER XI	
I.	CORRelation Matrix for Four Personality Measures, with Probabilities	. 481
II.	Commonalities and Loadings of Four Personality Variables on Personality Factors I and II	. 482
III.	Proportions of the Variance of the Personality Variables Explained by Factors I and II, Individually and Jointly .	. 484
IV.	Contribution of Each of Personality Variables to Total Variance Explained by Personality Factors I and II	. 485
V. · ·	Correlation Matrix of Four Accommodation Variables, with Probability Levels	. 488
· VII	Commonalities and Loadings of Four Accommodation Variables on Integration Factors I and II	. 489
VII .	Proportions of the Variance of the Integration Variables Explained by Integration Factors I and II, Individually and Jointly	. 491
'III	Contribution of Each Integration Variable to Total Variance Explained by Integration Factors I and II	. 493
IX.	F Ratio Values and Probabilities of Interaction of Independent Variables in Relation to Accommodation Factor I, Involvement	. 496
X	F Ratio Values and Probabilities of Interaction of Independent Variables in Relation to Accommodation Factor II, Satisfaction	. 497
XI.	F Rations, Uncontrolled R's and Probability Levels of Independent Effects of Independent Variables on Criterion Variables, Together with Proportion of Variance in Criteri Conjointly Explained by Independent Variables	
XII.	F Ratios, Incontrolled R's and Probability Levels of Independent Effects of Independent Variables on Accommodation Factors, Together with Proportions of Variance in Factors Conjointl Explained by Independent Variable	. у

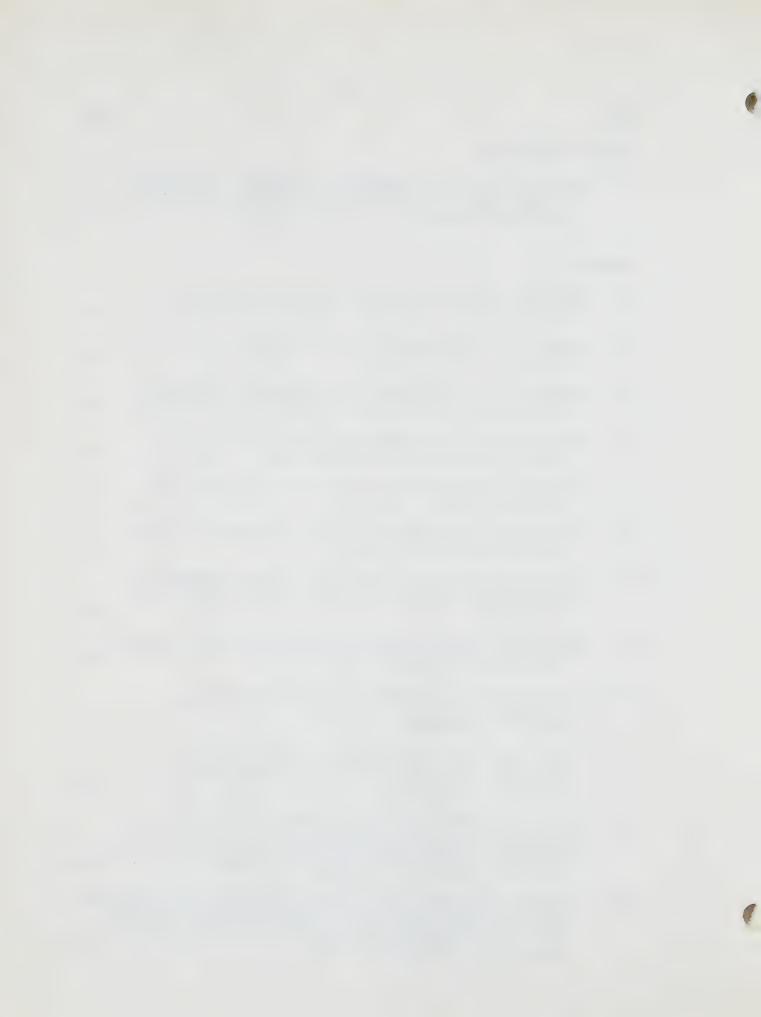


	TABLE		PAGE	
CHAPTER XI (Continued)				
	XIII	Raw and Standard Weights Signifying The Predictive Power of the Independent Variables with Respect to Accommodation Factors I Involvement and II Satisfaction	509	
	CHAPT	ER XII		
	I.	Nativity, Duration of Canadian Residence, Age, Education Occupation, Marital Status and Intermarriage Among Italian Origins and Control Samples from Family Service Files	519	
	II.	Incidence of Various Presenting Problems of Italian Origins and Control Samples from Family Service Agency Files	521	
	III.	Degree of Resolution of Problems of Italian Origins and Control Samples from Family Service Agency Files	523	
	IV.	Age, Duration of Canadian Residence, Education, Employment Status, Marital Status and Religious Affiliations of Italian Origins and Control Samples of Men Arrested in Edmonton Between January 1, 1964 and December 1, 1965	532	
	V.	Distribution of Offences with Which Italian Origins Sample and Total Population of Men Arrested in Edmonton Between January 1, 1964 and December 1, 1965 were charged • • • •	538	
	VI.	Distributions of Offences with Which Italian Origins and Control Samples of Men Arrested in Edmonton were Charged.	540	
	VII.	Dispositions of Cases of the Italian Origins and Control Samples of Male Arrests in Edmonton, January 1, 1964 - December 1, 1965	542	
CHAPTER XIII				
	ı.	Independent Variables Used in Analysis of Ukrainian Data .	552	
	II.	Dependent Variables Used in Analysis of Ukrainian Data	553	
	III.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables and Economic Adjustment Indices	554	
	IV.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables	557	



TABLE		PAGE		
СНАРТ	TER XIII (Continued)			
V.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables and Personal Adjustment Indices	559		
VI.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables and Satisfaction Indices	565		
VII.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables an Social Integration Indices	d 568		
VIII.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables and Ritical Integration Indices	571		
IX.	Interelationships between Ukrainian Independent Variables and Economic Integration Indices	573		
х.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables an Religious Integration Indices			
XI.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables an Retention of Ukrainianisms Indices			
XII.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables an Acculturation Indices			
XIII.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables an Assimilation Indices			
XIV.	Interrelationships Between Ukrainian Independent Variables and Rejection of Ukrainianism Indices	584		
XV.	Number and Rankings of Significant Relationships Between Selected Independent Variables and Some of the Accommoda- tion Indices, for the Italian and the Ukrainian Samples, with Rank Differences	586		
XVI.	Number and Rankings of Significant Relationships Between Sele ted Dependent Variables and Some of the Independent Variable for the Italian and Ukrainian Samples, With Rank Differences	es		
APPENDIX III				
I.	Familiarity with the Separatism Issue, and Partisanship on this Issue by Sex,	645		



CHAPTER I

THE PLAN OF THE STUDY

I. INTRODUCTION

The classic studies of immigrant integration and adjustment were made in the United States during the first two or three decades of the twentieth century. Since that time there has been little work done in this area. With the effective closing of United States immigration doors in 1926 this phenomena ceased to be of any very general interest in that country. In other areas of the world where there was very much of immigration, there was little sociological research activity.

This situation has changed to some extent in the years since World War II with the appearance of both higher rates of immigration and more general interest in sociological research. The coincidence of these two aspects is particularly marked in Canada. In recent years there has been an increasing number of studies of immigrants in this country.

The published literature available on immigrants to Canada may be classified into four main categories. In the first place there are historical studies of the European Migration to North America. These include works like Hansen's <u>The Atlantic Migration</u>, <u>1607 - 1860</u>, Guillet's

Hansen, M. L. The Atlantic migration, 1607-1860. New York: Harper and Bros., 1940 and 1961.

The Great Migration, 2 and Oscar Hanlin's The Uprooted. 3 The impact which

²Guillet, E. C. The great migration, the Atlantic crossing by sailing ship 1770-1860. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1937,1963.

³Hanlin, O. The uprooted. New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1951.



the great historical migrations have had on the Canadian population is perhaps best analyzed in papers by Keyfitz on "The Growth of the Canadian Population," by Ryder on "Components of Canadian Population

¹Keyfitz, N. The growth of the Canadian population growth, Population Studies, 4, June, 1950.

Growth," McDougall, "Immigration into Canada 1851 - 1920, and LeNeveu and Kasahara, "Demographic Trends in Canada, 1941 - 1956." Currently

²Ryder, N. B. Components of Canadian population growth, Population Index, April 1954.

³McDougall, D. M. Immigration into Canada 1851 - 1920, C.J.E.P.S. Vol. 27 (2), May, 1961.

⁴LeNeveau, A. H., and Y. Kasahara. Demographic trends in Canada, 1941 - 1956, same, Vol. 24 (1), February, 1958.

in preparation is a study of post World War II immigration, based on the 1961 census returns, from which some of the detailed statistics on Italians in Edmonton were obtained.⁵ The history of Canada's immigration

⁵Kalbach, W. E. Impact of post war immigration on the Canadian population, Census monograph in preparation for the Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

policy and its influence in shaping the population composition of this country are analyzed in Corbett's Canadian Immigration Policy, A Critique.6

⁶Corbett, D. C. Canada's immigration policy, a critique, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

The early decades of this century saw the heyday of preoccupation with an English Canada. The process of becoming a Canadian citizen was seen essentially as becoming a British subject. The desirability of



various immigrant groups was evaluated in terms of this criterion in books such as MacGrath's <u>Canada's Growth and Some Problems Affecting it</u>, ¹

1 MacGrath, C. A. Canada's growth and some problems affecting it, Ottawa: The Mortimer Press, 1910.

England's The Central European Immigrant in Canada, 2 and Bryce's The

²England, Robert. The central European immigrant in Canada, Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant.3

³Bryce, P. H. The value to Canada of the continental immigrant, Ottawa: Privately published, 1928.

In recent years there have come studies of a number of specific groups. Several have dealt with the Ukrainians, perhaps because of the controversy which attended their coming to Canada and the need which Ukrainians felt to defend themselves. These works include Young,

The Ukrainian Canadian: A Study in Assimilation; 4 Yuzyk, The Ukrainian

⁴Young, C. H. The Ukrainian Canadian: a study in assimilation, Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1931.

Peasant in Manitoba; 5 and Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada,

⁵Yuzyk, Paul. The Ukrainian peasant in Mantioba. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

1895 - 1900.6 Other book length monographs on other groups include

⁶V. J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian settlements in Canada, 1895 - 1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.

Young and Read, The Japanese Canadians, 7

⁷Young, C. H., and others. The Japanese Canadians. Toronto: 2d ed. University of Toronto Press, 1939.



published in 1939; Vlassis, The Greeks in Canada, 1 published in 1952;

¹Vlassis, G. D. The Greeks in Canada. 2d ed, Ottawa: privately published, 1952.

Kosa, Land of Choice: - The Hungarians in Canada; 2 and Petersen, Planned

²Kosa, John, Land of choice: the Hungarians in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954.

Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement, 3

³Petersen, W. Planned migration: the social determinants of the Dutch-Canadian movement. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955.

published in 1955. There have been no such studies of Italians in Canada, probably because of the recency of their arrival in large numbers. The most recent and by far the most comprehensive attempt to assess the impact of immigrants on the Canadian social structure is Porter's work, The Vertical Mesaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, 4 which was published in 1965.

4Porter, John. The vertical mosaic, an analysis of social class and power in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

II. THE PRESENT STUDY

The present monograph reports on a study of the adjustment of

Italian immigrants in Edmonton, Alberta. It is one of a series of

three studies of Italian immigrant adjustment commissioned by the Royal

Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The other two deal with

the much larger Italian immigrations to Montreal and Toronto.



The purpose of this study is three-fold. In the first place, it seeks to obtain some basic information, both descriptive and analytic, about the process by which a rather small group of Italian immigrants are making adjustments to Canadian society as it is found on the prairie province of Alberta, and transforming themselves into Canadians. In the second place, it is designed to provide bases for making some comparisons with the adjustments which Italians are making in the larger Italian colonies and the contrasting settings of Toronto and Montreal. And in the third place, because the author of this work has also been involved with several others in a study of Ukrainian adjustment in Alberta, sponsored by the Canadian Ukrainian Research Foundation, it

seemed important, and in the interests of the Royal Commission, to draw as many contrasts as possible between the adjustment processes of the Italians, and those of first— and second-generation Ukrainian immigrants in the Edmonton area.

Thus, in the pattern of five studies, of which the present study is but one, three kinds of comparisons may be made. Comparisons may be made between Ukrainian and Italians in Edmonton, since many of the items on the interview schedule used with both groups was identical, and since the environments in which they worked out their adjustments were identical. The two points of contrast between the groups are, of course, ethnicity and the date of arrival, since most of the Ukrainians arrived between thirty and fifty years before the Italians began to arrive in

¹Borhek, J. T., C. W. Hobart, A. P. Jacoby, and W. E. Kalbach, Adjustment of Ukrainians in Alberta, in preparation for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, Toronto.



large numbers. When Edmonton and Toronto Italians are compared, the ethnicity, dates of arrival, and dominant cultural settings are similar, but the Toronto colony is much larger, 1 and it is located in a

larger, Eastern seaboard city. Comparison of Edmonton with Montreal Italians gives a contrast similar to that with the Toronto colony except that the dominant culture is changed from English Canadian to French Canadian. This latter is, of course, a most important change, since the Catholicism and the Romance language and cultural heritage of the Italians gives them a much closer cultural affinity to French Canadian culture than it does to English Canadian culture.

III. THEORETICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

There are four basic aspects to the presentation of the data in this study. In the first place there is a general description of the Italian community in Edmonton, including its physical setting, its historical development, and its family, religious, political, recreational and other associational and activity aspects.

In the second place, there is a more analytical but yet basically descriptive reworking of much of this same material under the general headings of adjustment and satisfaction, integration, acculturation, and assimilative tendencies. Adjustment and satisfaction deal with the basic initial adjustments made by new immigrants upon their arrival in a new country and the extent of their satisfactions with these various arrangements.

 $^{^{\}mathrm{l}}$ According to the 1961 Census there were 140,378 Italians in Toronto, and 4,712 in Edmonton.



By integration is meant the interpenetration of the immigrant and the non-immigrant communities which results as the immigrant ventures into more and more spheres of life in the larger community, and as the larger community, in turn, accepts him more. It is a social structural concept, referring to the fusion of distinctive immigrant social structures with those of the host society. We shall be especially interested in the extent of integration in Canadian society which the members of our study sample achieve ecologically (their residential integration with other Edmontonians), socially, politically, economically, and religiously.

By acculturation, we mean both the process of cultural fusion, and the product of that fusion, that is, a culture which is a synthesis of both the new and the old. Intrinsic to the process of acculturation is exposure to the dominant culture, which involves both interaction with people who are carriers of that culture, and exposure to the mass media of that culture, including radio, television, motion pictures, and newspapers and magazines. As a result of this acculturation process there tend to develop changes in values, aspirations, in the ethic according to which life is lived, in leisure time activities and so forth.

Assimilative tendencies refer to tendencies on the part of individuals and groups to lose all distinctive or "foreign" characteristics and so to become indistinguishable from the dominant group. In a word, it refers to tendencies toward Anglo-Canadian conformity. Such tendencies can be gradual and spontaneous, as in time people lose their regard, and their feelings of the appropriateness of old country ways and practices. Or tendencies toward assimilation may be more sudden,



intense, compulsive, as the immigrant senses the sharp disparity between many of his ways and those of the new host country, and the "outlandis-ness" of his behavior in the eyes of old Canadians. Under such circumstances, for some, identification with the ways of their fathers may turn to hatred of these ways and their desire to lose this distinctiveness, to lose this identity, may be urgent and compulsive.

It should be noted that cultural retentative and cultural assimilative tendencies can be either conformist or deviant, and indeed, the whole category of behavior patterns which we have listed above—adjustment, integration, acculturation and assimilative patterns—can be oriented to a deviant orientation. This set of possibilities, and the social controls which hold them in check will be given special consideration.

The third and final theoretical aspect of the present study is not at all descriptive as are the sections described above. Rather, its purpose is purely analytic; to sort out factors in the backgrounds and the experiences of immigrants which are associated with adjustment, integration, acculturation, etc., and those which are associated with maladjustment, non-integration, the retention of old country patterns, etc. In this effort we shall consider three classes of independent or causal variables: (1) bio-geographical variables including age, sex, the region in Italy from which the migrant came, and the duration of his stay in Canada; (2) social psychological variables, that is, the pattern of intimate or friendship associations which he formed in Edmonton; and (3) psychological variables: personality needs and tendencies, social status variables and variables indicating cultural exposure in Canada.



The fourth aspect of the present study is again descriptive and comparative, a comparison of some of the findings of the present study concerning the processes of accommodation of immigrants to Canadian society with those of the study of Ukrainians in Alberta.

In sum, the purpose of this study is simultaneously descriptive and analytical; descriptive of the origins, physical circumstances, and changes taking place in the behavior of Italian immigrants to Edmonton; and analytical in its endeavor to sort out the causal factors which are responsible for the differences in their change patterns.

1.1. The Data. The data which are reported and analyzed in this study came from four main sources. The first and most important source was structured interviews with a sample of 418 Italians in Edmonton, all but two of whom were Italian born and raised. The interview schedule which was used contained 209 questions, and the interviews which were conducted lasted from an hour and fifteen minutes to over three hours, depending on the quickness and the sophistication of the respondent. A more detailed description of the content of the interview schedule will be found below.

The second source of data in this study consisted of depth interviews with the leaders of the Italian community. Members contacted included the earliest arrivals in the community, who had been in Edmonton more than fifty years, several of the most successful business men in the community, leaders in the most important voluntary associations in the community, and the priests in the Italian Roman Catholic church.

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The third source of data was the Dominion Bureau of Statistics census returns. In addition to the usual published tables, we were



fortunate in obtaining access to a voluminous set of special tabulations which were made for a census monograph on the effects of the post-war immigration on the Canadian population.

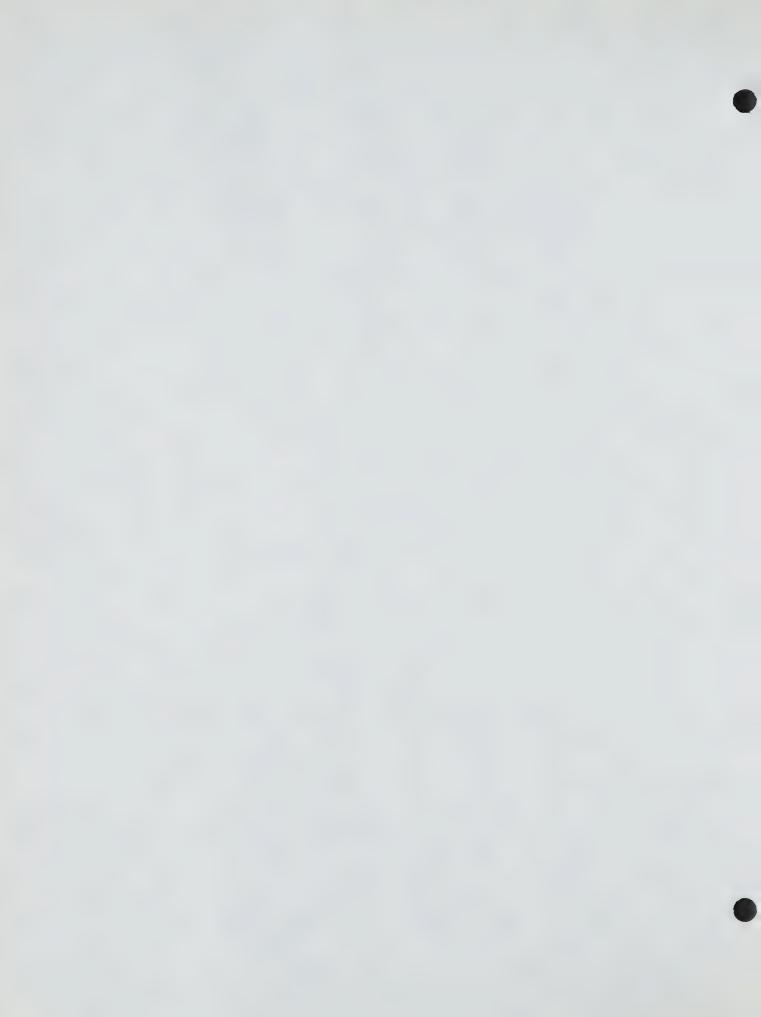
1 Included in these special

1 Kalbach, guoted work.

tables are tabulations by foreign born by land of birth and by ethnic origins by period of immigration, and by a variety of other population characteristics, for the Edmonton Metropolitan District. These tabulations are available for the following population characteristics: age, sex, religion, schooling, marital status, occupation, income, family size, intermarriage, and official language. The availability of these data for British Isles, German and Ukrainian origins subjects, as well as for Italians, will make possible the drawing of comparisons between these various groups.

The fourth source of data was interviews with a number of civic officials in Edmonton. Those interviewed included police and public health and mental health officials, and school teachers and administrators. The purpose of these interviews was to discover whether in the experience of these various officials the Italian community was in any way distinctive in contrast to the non-Italian residents of Edmonton in terms of presenting either a lesser or a higher incidence of the kinds of problems which these men were responsible for handling.

1.2. The Interview Schedule. As noted above, the interview schedule consisted of 209 questions which might be asked of respondents when applicable. These various questions covered a number of different areas, and included items drawn from a number of widely-used testing



instruments which were so scored as to form sub-scales.

The questions on the schedule covered the following areas:

Respondent's residential history
Basic data covering his extended family
His educational and occupational history
Political and Religious attitudes and participation of respondent
His exposure to mass media, including Italian and Canadian
newspapers and magazines, and details on viewing of Canadian
television
Value identifications of respondent
Leisure time activities of respondent
Voluntary association memberships and participation of respondent
Kinds of relationships and frequency of interaction with
relatives, with other Italians, and with non-Italian Canadians
Attitudes toward Canada, including experience of discrimination

in Canada
Languages used among respondent, spouse, and children
Income and property ownership

Vocational aspirations, for self, and educational and vocational aspirations for sons and daughters

Attitudes toward the tenets of the Protestant Ethic

Attitudes toward the separatism issue, where the respondent was aware of this issue

Items were drawn from the following scales and schedules:

Shoben parent Attitudes Scale
Hobart Marital Role Expectations Schedule
Srole Anomie Scale
Maudsley Personality Inventory Neuroticism Scale
Maudsley Personality Inventory Extraversion Scale
Rokeach Dogmatism Scale
Dean Alienation Scale

From this pool of items a number of sub-scales were constructed with respect to which each respondent was scored where completeness of the data permitted. A listing of these sub-scales together with the number of component interview schedule items is as follows:

Rejection of Italy sub-scale 5 items

Italian Chauvinism sub-scale 9 items

Srole Anomie sub-scale 5 items

Maudsley Personality Inventory Neuroticism Sub-scale 6 items

Maudsley Personality Inventory Extraversion sub-scale 3 items

Rokeach Dogmatism sub-scale 12 items

Dean Alienation sub-scale 12 items



Shoben Child Domination sub-scale, 5 items
Protestant Ethic involvement sub-scale 6 items
Canadian Participation sub-scale 7 items
Contentment with Canada sub-scale 5 items
Association with Italians sub-scale utilizing information drawn from 3 items.

The interview schedule was constructed and pretested as follows. An initial list of over 250 items was drawn up, covering various areas which were to be included in this study. About three fourths of these items had already been used in interviewing Ukrainians for a study of Ukrainian adjustment to Alberta. Additional items were constructed which were appropriate to the purposes of the present study. First drafts of interview schedules were also exchanged with Professor Jeremy Boissevain of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Montreal, who was directing the study of Italians in Montreal, and a number of items used in his interview schedule were incorporated into ours. It was not possible to contact those making the study of Italians in Toronto.

All items were then translated into Italian by a woman in the Italian community in Edmonton who was recommended by Dr. Enrico Musacchio, Professor of Italian at the University of Alberta. Her translation was then checked by Professor Musacchio, and modifications in the wording were made as necessary. At this time also, a conference was held with a man who is the most widely informed and sensitive leader in the Italian community—a man whose insights and advice were frequently invaluable—concerning the acceptability to interview subjects of certain "sensitive items," such as statements critical of certain Italian attitudes or behavior.



The first draft of the interview schedule was then fieldtested during the course of 27 trial interviews with Italian immigrants
of both sexes and from a wide range of age groups. Special effort was
made to insure that subjects from the Northern, Central, and Southern
areas of Italy were included in this test sample. People from all of
these areas have settled in Edmanton, and there are significant
differences in dialectic between them. During the pre-testing, as
during the interviewing proper, virtually all of the interviewing was
done in Italian; no more than two per cent of all the interviews were
conducted in English.

Following the pre-testing, lengthy conferences were held with the interviewers, the translator, and the helpful leader of the Italian community mentioned above. In the course of these conferences items were re-worded in the light of interviewing experience, and certain items were discarded. There was also discussion of the interviewing problems which were encountered during the course of the pre-testing.

1.3. The Interview Team. Because of the time pressures under which this study was conducted, it was not possible to use Italian university students as interviewers as originally planned since the research timetable called for the interviewing to be done during the period of their peak work load at university. Accordingly, a search was made of the Italian community for interviewers. Candidates were chosen on the basis of a personal interview and after consultation with a leader in the Italian community who was helpful in indicating when the community reputation of a possible candidate might result in resistance and/or biasing of responses in subjects interviewed. By means



of this selection procedure, two full-time male interviewers and five part-time female interviewers were obtained. It was unfortunate that the services of one or two full-time women interviewers could not be obtained, but exhaustive efforts to find qualified people proved fruitless.

Training of the interviewers proceeded coincidentally with the pre-testing of the interview schedule. Interviewers were carefully instructed in interviewing procedures and were cautioned in detail against various ways of inadvertently biasing the interviewee's responses, especially through the use of examples. The whole problem of bias is a particularly imminent one in this study. Because of the number of dialect differences in the Italian population in Edmonton, and the very limited education of these people, it was the usual experience of the interviewers that they were not able to use the final Italian translation of the schedule in its verbatim form. Interviewers found that it was necessary to modify the wording and/or to give examples at times, as the educational and dialect background of the informants required. Since the majority of Italians in Edmonton are Southern Italians, and since the language facility of Italian women is more limited that that of men, it was fortunate that the two women interviewers who did more than two-thirds of the interviewing of women were both Southern Italians. In the interviewing of women and to some extent in the interviewing of men, if one interviewer ran into difficulties in interviewing a subject, the session was often tactfully broken off and the subject was later contacted by another interviewer who was better qualified to communicate effectively with him.



In view of the patterning of sex roles in the Italian culture with the ascription to the male of a distinctly dominant position and to the female of a correspondingly passive or subservient position, it seemed important to have men interviewed by male interviewers and women interviewed by female interviewers. The reasons for this decision were that it seemed probable that men would be less likely to refuse an interview and would be more likely to take it seriously where the interviewer was a male also. It also seemed probable that women respondents would be less timid, and less likely to be influenced by their perception of the interviewer's attitudes where the latter was a woman as well.

Problems in interviewing procedure were discussed in detail with interviewers as they arose. Prompt and careful reading of the completed interview schedules as they came in permitted speedy identification of questions where less than fully adequate information was being recorded by the interviewer. The head coder in the present study, who also coded most of the interview schedules in the Ukrainian study which was mentioned above, observed that the quality of the interviewing in the present study, as reflected in the care and completeness with which items answers were recorded, is superior to that of the Ukrainian university student interviewers who were used in the Ukrainian study. The cooperation obtained from Italian interviewees was also much superior to that obtained in the Ukrainian study, both in terms of willingness to complete all of the interview schedule, and of the low rate of refusals.

1.4. The Sample. Unfortunately there is not available a complete listing of all adult Italian immigrants currently residing in Edmonton.

The 1961 Census, the data for which were collected in June, 1961, shows



that there were at that time 2,791 Halians over 20 years of age living in Edmonton. However, that figure certainly grossly underestimates the number who were living in Edmonton during the first few months of 1965. Informal estimates that time suggested that there were between seven and nine thousand Italians of all ages living in the city. There had been no more recent enumerations by the provincial or municipal governments to give a more precise figure, unfortunately.

In the absence of a more adequate, and financially feasible alternative procedure for drawing an interview sample, two sources of names were used in drawing a preselected sample. As a result of earlier research conducted by the Department of Sociology of the University of

Alberta, there was available a list of immigrants culled from the visitation books of the Voting Assessor for the City of Edmonton, which had been compiled during April, 1962. Ethnic identification on the basis of names by two specialists from the Modern Languages Department of the University of Alberta resulted in the identification of 1,511 Italians twenty-one years of age and over living in the city.

Recourse was had to a second source for names because there was evidence of under-enumeration of Italians who had become Canadian citizens. This weakness was covered by obtaining permission from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in Ottawa to draw a sample of Italians who had become naturalized from the files of the Citizenship Court in Edmonton. These records extend back only until 1958. During the seven years and two months (through February, 1965) covered, a total of 405 Italians had been naturalized in that court.

An initial pool of 553 names was drawn for the interview sample:

¹A. T. Reese-Powell, Differentials in the integration process of Dutch and Italian immigrants in Edmonton, unpublished Master's thesis, university of Alberta, 1964, pp. 112-114.



377 names, constituting a 25 per cent sample from the Voting Assessors list, and 176 constituting a 50 per cent sample from the Citizenship Court list—taking only one name from each family group. After the interviewing had been in progress for about six weeks it appeared that erosion of the first pool of subjects was severe for a number of reasons; overlap between the two lists, movement of many subjects to other parts of Canada, or to unknown addresses, temporary visiting of many subjects in Italy, and misidentification of a name as Italian. For these reasons, and because the inverviewers worked more efficiently when they set out in the morning with a larger group of contact possibilities, a second, 14 per cent sample was drawn from the Voting Assessors list, which yielded an additional 208 names. This second sampling was far too large; of the 690 different names included in the samples drawn (when the overlap of 71 names is eliminated) no effort was made to contact

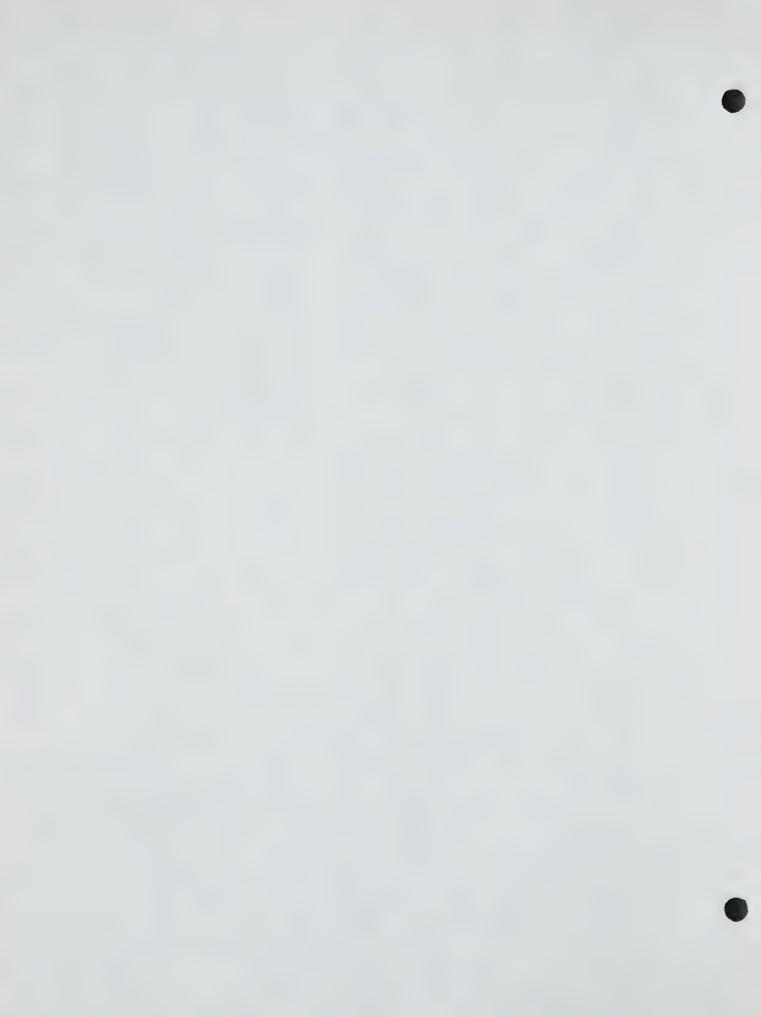
The eventual breakdown of the sample is found in Table I. This table shows that of the 761 names which were drawn, 669 were apparently valid candidates for the sample, when the 71 duplicate names and 21 names of non-Italians were eliminated.

An attempt to contact the person had been actually made in the case of 530 of these by the time that the interviewing was terminated, with 418 completed interviews. The 112 non-responses were the result of the following circumstances: 38 had moved to an unknown address; 20 had moved to other parts of Canada; 24 were on temporary visits to Italy during the interviewing period; 20 refused to be interviewed; in 8 cases the interviewer was never able to catch a respondent at home; and



/ TABLE I
DISPOSITION OF INTERVIEW SAMPLE

Total names drawn from both lists	761	
Duplicate names	71	
Names of non-Italians	21	
Valid sample members	669	
Membersno contact attempted	139	
Memberscontact attempted	530	100%
Members actually interviewed	418	78.9
Non Responses	112	21.1
Movedaddress unkhown	38	7.2
Movedoutside of Edmonton	20	3.8
Visiting Italy	24	4.5
Refusals	20	3.8
Member never home	8	1.5
Deard	2	.4



in 2 cases, the respondent had died. Thus, among the 438 Italians who were actually contacted the refusal rate was just under 5 per cent.

Following the completion of an interview, the schedule was given to a coder who checked it over carefully. If there were inadvertent omissions in the schedule, it was returned to the interviewer and in the cases where this occurred it was usually possible for him to contact the interviewee once more in order to obtain the missing data. The data on completed schedules were coded for punching on IBM cards to permit computer analysis of the data. Each schedule was coded twice and these separate codings were compared in order to eliminate coding errors. The data from each interview required five IBM cards.

Since the purpose of this study was essentially descriptive and comparative, it was not designed to test any particular theory or set of theories, nor were any explicit hypotheses concerning the processes of acculturation and integration formulated. However, it is clear that the decisions as to what kinds of data shall be collected in an interview schedule, and what questions shall be omitted presume an implicit set of hypotheses concerning the processes and determinants, and consequences of immigrant adjustment. The broad outlines of this implicit analytic scheme have been sketched out above. It remains here only to review it in this context.

Our analysis is formulated in terms of independent variables and dependent variables, possible causes, and possible effects. The independent variables include demographic variables, pre-migration influences and post-migration influences, but it should be noted that some, such as the psychological characteristics of subjects, probably



reflect the interaction of both pre- and post-migration experiences.

The pre-migration influences include ecological variables, the part of

Italy from which the immigrant came, indices of Italian social class,

education and Italian occupation, and personality indices--religiosity,

chauvinism, neuroticism, dogmatism, dominance and alienation.

The post-migration influences include ecological, personal relationships, social class and cultural aspects. The ecological consist of the influence of the area of Edmonton in which he first settled upon arrival, and of those areas in which he may subsequently have lived. The personal relationship influence include whether or not he had relatives or close friends in Edmonton at the time he arrived, how frequently he interacted with them, and the extent to which he was thrown in with purely Italian or mixed friendship groups and how often he interacted with them. The cultural aspects involve the duration, and the kinds and sources of Canadian cultural exposure which he has encountered during his years in Edmonton. Social class indices include levels of first job in Canada, current work position and 3 measures of social mobility. Naturalization and an index of participation in Canadian society were also included.

The dependent variables include basic adjustment to living in Canadian society, satisfaction with life in Canada, integration into various (structural) aspects of Canadian society, acculturation into the beliefs and values of Canadian society, and tendencies toward assimilation; into Canadian society, involving loss of Italian distinctiveness and identity. These theoretical constructs were indexed by a variety of items and sub-scale scores which will be introduced where appropriate in the pages which follow, and which may be



found in Appendix II . Where it is necessary to refer generally to the adjustment, integration, acculturation, and, perhaps, assimilation of immigrants in the pages which follow, the word accommodation will be used as a global term.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE MONOGRAPH

Chapter II is a history of Italian migration to Edmonton and a description of the Italian community there, in terms of its physical lay-out, organizational structure, and patterns of intimate association. Chapter III is a description of the Italian population of Edmonton based on material from the Census and from the study sample, including the areas of Italy from which the people came, and their demographic, social stratificational, and occupational characteristics. Chapter IV continues the description of the study sample, in terms of family size and role characteristics, religious and political participation and attitudes, associational memberships, exposure to and use of mass media, leisure time activities, and values and orientations toward life.

In Chapters V through VIII, we examine the relationship between various independent variables noted dove--pre-migration influences and post-migration influences--and the accommodation indices, including adjustment, satisfaction, integration, acculturation and assimilation of the Italian immigrants in Edmonton. It might be noted that the data presented in these chapters are both tedious and repetitive. They are tedious because they involve reporting the significant interrelationships between the large numbers of independent variables and indices of association. They are repetitive because although adjustment, integration, acculturation and assimilation are conceptually distinct, in fact the patterns of



significant associations of the indices of these areas with the independent variables are quite similar for the various areas. The reader can avoid the tedium by reading only the summaries which are found at the end of each section of the chapters as well as at the end of each chapter. He can avoid the repetitiveness of the material by skipping over these chapters and reading Chapter X which presents an integration of the findings of Chapters V through VIII, and an evaluation of the power of the independent variables in predicting the accommodation indices, and the extent to which the various areas of accommodation were significantly associated with the independent variables.

Preceding Chapter X is found a comparison of the sex differences in the relationships between the independent variables. The aim in Chapter IX is to discover what we can of the similarities and differences in the processes of accommodation to Canadian society, between men and women.

Chapter XI consists of a presentation of the results of the multiple regression analysis which was designed to discover the relative strength of some of the independent variables and of the interactions between them and several of the accommodation variables. Chapter XII presents what we were able to find out concerning the deviance tendencies—including emotional and adjustment problems, and criminal behavior—of Italian immigrants in Edmonton.

In Chapter XIII is found a comparison of some of the findings of this study with those of the Ukrainian study referred to earlier concerning the processes of immigrant accommodation to Canadian society. The final chapter, Chapter XIV, contains the summary and conclusions of the present study and a brief discussion of the future that may be anticipated for the Italians in Edmonton.



CHAPTER II

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY IN EDMONTON

The purpose of this chapter is to set the stage for the descriptive and the analytic chapters which follow. It consists of two parts: the first is a resume of the movement which brought Italians first to Canada, then to Alberta, and finally to Edmonton. The second is a description of the Italian community which has come into existence in that city, in terms of both the physical characteristics of the area and the cultural, relationship and associational patterns which are found among the Italian people who concentrate there.

I. ITALIAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

2.1. Background to the Immigration. Although some exportation of population has long been a necessary factor in the Italian economy, it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that Italians began leaving their homeland in large numbers. The crucial event was the lifting of restrictive laws in Italy in 1850 which, until then, were an effective deterrent. The motivations behind the Italian emigration

have been largely the same forces common to all emigrant groups: the hope for a better and less restrictive environment, and for richer opportunities. For the Italian, these hopes have been expressed largely in economic terms. Thus, it is the search for a better job and for better living conditions that has lured the majority of immigrants

¹See Donald Taft, International Migrations (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1955).



to lands that otherwise would have been unattractive to them.

Italy has not been able to support its large population for centuries. Across the country as a whole about one-third of the land is not fit for cultivation. The overtaxing of meagre resources is especially pronounced in the south, where not only is there a shortage of good soil and water, but of other natural resources as well. Thus, it has always been a depressed area inhabited by a poor and backward peasantry. Here the peasant populace is overcrowded on very small pieces of land, and often the ownership of the land itself is in the hands of large, absentee, landowners. The problems of unemployment, poverty, lack of education, and the imminent hopeless apathy which makes self-help often seem futile, are extreme.

While the North is much more highly industrialized than is the South of Italy, it has only been during the last few years that it has been sufficiently developed to absorb very many of the Southern peasants. Since 1951 there has been a striking invernal migration from the depressed south to the industrialized north. Steel mills, automobile plants and appliance factories are contributing to the establishment of a thriving northern economy, which is providing jobs for increasing numbers of people from the south as well.

The economy of central Italy has, of course, always had the tourist trade, as well as the sizeable governmental and ecclesiastical hierarchies as mainstays of its support.

2.2. Early Migration to Canada. Although rather large scale emigration from Italy began about the middle of the 19th century, Canada did not receive any appreciable number of the emigrants until the 1880's.



In 1881 construction began on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and this created a very large demand for cheap, unskilled labor, and Italians began to come to help supply this need. Construction of railroads in Canada continued at a very high level until 1912-1913 and this is reflected in continuing high rates of Italian immigration, as Table I shows. The data clearly show the sensitivity of immigration to wary, prosperity, and depression. They also show that until the depression Italians always constituted a very small proportion of the total immigrant group, never more than 2.77 per cent of the total. Althouh the period from 1900 to 1914 saw large numbers of Italians entering Canada annually, these figures represent only a very small proportion of all Italian emigrants during this period.

It is clear from the table not only that World War I put an abrupt end to the heavy migration at the beginning of the century, but also that Italian immigration during the first decade after the way was less than half as heavy as it had been between 1900 and 1914. There were a number of reasons for this; two originated in Canada and one in Italy. The introduction of immigration regulations and the unstable state of the Canadian economy during this time were, in fact, interrelated. Following the First World War, the Canadian economy was markedly unstable for a prolonged period of time and this situation prompted the government to introduce a series of restrictions on immigration. The state of the post-World War I Canadian economy hardly needs elaboration; a mainstay of Canadian international trade at that time was agricultural produce and the world market for farm products was in a state of depression for a decade before the onset of the Great Depression.



TABLE I

AVERAGE NUMBER OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS ENTERING CANADA YEARLY
FOR SELECTED PERIODS, 1876-1929a

Year	Average Number Per Year	Per Cent of Overseas Immigration
1876 - 1900	560	•54
1900 - 1914	9,676	2.72
1915 - 1918	649	1.65
1919 - 1927	4,405	2.77
1928 - 1929	1,231	1.86

International Labor Review, Vol. XXIII (June, 1931), p. 806. Published by International Labour Office, Geneva.



During this time, the government introduced a series of immigration regulations. An order-in-council of 1919 rules that undesirables could be excluded because of climatic, industrial, social, educational, labor, or other requirements of Canada, or because of customs, habits, modes of life, methods of holding property, or probable inability to assimilate. An Order-in-Council passed in 1923 stipulated that a passport and visa were required of everyone emigrating to Canada with the exception of British and Americans. Since Canadian Consular offices, at this time, were located only in the areas of Northern and Western Europe, Italians had difficulty in obtaining Canadian visas, and so this order tended to significantly curtail Italian immigration to Canada. In August, 1930, an Order-in-Council was passed denying Canadian access to European farmers possessing insufficient capital to establish themselves. The cumulative impact of these measures was to reduce Italian immigration during the period between the First and Second World Wars to a level considerably below the pre-World War I level.

However, this reduction was not solely the result of Canadian governmental activity. Following its accession to power in 1922, the Fascist government of Mussolini was eager to maximize the size of the Italian population. Accordingly, it introduced a set of restrictions which tended to curtail the emigration of Italians. Thus, both Canadian and Italian governmental measures, as well as the world economic situation, are reflected in the Italian immigration statistics found in Table I.

2.3. The Post-War Immigration. Two years after the end of World War ${\rm I}^{\rm I}$, in 1948, the restrictions on Italian immigrants, as citizens



of an enemy country, were lifted and the first wave of the very heavy influx of Italian immigrants into Canada began. There were a number of reasons for the size of this population movement. At home, the distressing economic factors that had prompted emigration before the war were exacerbated by the effects and the after-effects of the war. Much of Italy had been a battleground during the Italian campaign, and, as a consequence of the destruction, and the disorganization which followed, many Italians were left homeless and poverty-stricken. In addition, because of the impact of the war on other parts of Europe, many countries which had formerly received thousands of Italian emigrants imposed restrictive controls. At the same time, the post-war Canadian immigration policy was very attractive and flexible. A great many Italian immigrants were guaranteed employment after their arrival under the direction of the government.

The purpose of the government was to facilitate the growth of Canadian population through ensuring a careful selection of immigrants as required by the national economy. Thus, the government undertook responsibilities for acquiring employment for new immigrants. Upon their arrival they were interviewed by both Immigration and Customs officials, and assisted until they reached their destination. In this way, thousands of immigrants came under the sponsorship of the government until 1955.

The size of the annual Italian immigration from 1946 to the present is found in Table II. The figures show that immigration jumped over 250 per cent between 1950 and 1951 and rose to a peak in 1956. This was followed by a gradual decline in 1957, 1958, and 1959, with more sharp declines in 1960 and 1961. The major reason for the decline was that in May, 1956, regulations were issued by the Department



TABLE II

NUMBER OF ITALIANS ENTERING CANADA ANNUALLY SINCE WORLD WAR II,

BY YEAR^{a, b}

Year, 1946 - 1964	Number of Italians
1946	145
1947	139
1948	3,202
1949	7,742
1950	9,059
1951	24,351
1952	21,383
1953	24,293
1954	24,595
1955	20,247
1956	29,806
1957	29,443
1958	28,564
1959	26,822
1960	21,308
1961	14,352
1962	13,951
1963	15,5 89
1964	19,257

^aStatistical Review of Immigration to Canada, Catholic Immigrant Service, Montreal.

bPress Releases, Department of Citizenship and Immigration.



of Citizenship and Immigration which decreed that prospective Italian immigrants, as well as those from some other countries, must have a sponsoring relative in Canada who would provide assurance that the immigrant would not become apublic charge. In 1958, Canada began to place greater emphasis on the admission of skilled immigrants, with the consequence that further restrictions were placed on those who were not skilled. Especially important, also, is the fact that economic conditions in Italy had been gradually improving. By 1960 that country was in the midst of an economic boom, and employment was at a high level, as was optimism regarding the economic future of the country. The effects of these influences are clearly visible in the immigration statistics, especially since 1960. The impact of the boom period on the Canadian populace was massive. During the post-war and later boom period, up until 1960, Canada received almost a quarter of a million Italian immigrants. The 235,000 who came accounted for 18.2 per cent of all Italian overseas emigration during that 15 year period.

- 2.4. Italians in Alberta and in Edmontón. The great majority of Italians who came to Canada have remained in the East. The first wave of immigrants, those who came before World War I, settled predominantly in Quebec and Montreal. The reasons for this settlement pattern include a number of factors.
 - (1) Since many of these first immigrants had planned to get rich quickly and then return to Italy, they stayed in these cities which were near to their port of entry, there being no reason to stray more widely afield.
 - (2) The greater similarity of the language, religion and culture



of the French in these cities than the English culture of other areas to the Italian culture of the immigrants was attractive to many.

- (3) The work opportunities in these cities, as well as the proximity to the New York City job market apparently encouraged many to remain in this area.
- (4) Many immigrants clearly preferred the climate of this area to the colder weather of the prairies.

The result of this settlement pattern was that by 1901 there were 10,834 Italians in Canada, of whom only 109 were in Alberta. In Edmonton, there was only one.

The first Italians to come to Alberta were motivated by the availability of work in the coal mines and on the railroad. These attractions brought 2,000 immigrants to the province during the first decade of the century, and another 2,000 during the second decade, as the figures in Table III show. For the next thiry years the rate of growth was very slow, amounting to little more than the excess of births over deaths, in all probability. The wartime decade of the 1940's saw the Italian population of the province increase by another eleven hundred.

Until the early post World War II years, the Italian urban population was very small. The figures in the table show that in 1921 there were only 139 Italians living in Edmonton, and twenty years later there were still less than twice that number.

Hardships were numerous for the early Italian immigrants to

Alberta. Interviews with a number of "old timers" now living in

Edmonton suggest that the greatest shock which they encountered was
the harshness of the Alberta winters. Unemployment was also a serious
chronic problem. Work was seasonal, and the immigrant who came, dreaming



TABLE III

PEOPLE OF ITALIAN ETHNIC ORIGIN, IN CANADA, IN ALBERTA, AND IN EDMONTON, FOR THE DECADES 1901 THROUGH 1961

	Canada	, Alberta	Edmonton
1901	10,874	109	. 1
1911	45,411	2,139	30
1921	66,769	4,028	139
1931	98,173	4,766	. 130
1941	112,625	4,872	252
1951	152, 245	5,996 Rural Urban 2,321 3,675	745
1961	450,000 Approx.	15,025 Rural Urban 2,296 12,729	4,712

^aO. Hawa, Reference Paper No. 1, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, <u>Canadian Immigration</u>, November, 1957.



of making enough money to go back home a rich man often found that he could not make enough money to go back at all.

Eventually, during the 1940's, the coal mines closed down, leaving many Italians with no work, little money, and no alternative but to go to the nearest city to find what work they could. This development is clearly reflected in the figures in Table II, especially the increase in Edmonton and other urban dwelling Italians in 1951 and 1961.

Thus, the movement of Italians to the cities in Alberta, which was very gradual during the first forty years of the century, was speeded up greatly in the late 1940's with the closing of a great many coal mines, and in the following decade by the arrival of the post-war immigrants. In 1941, Edmonton had an Italian population of 252. By 1951 it had increased to 745, and by 1961 had leaped to 4,712. The 1961 census returns show that out of a total of 15,025 Italians in Alberta, 12,729 were living in urban areas and only 2,296 were in rural areas. In a matter of twenty years, the Italian population in Alberta had changed from a predominantly rural group to an overwhelmingly urban one.

2.5. The Italian Community in Edmonton. Before World War II there were probably never more than twenty or thirty Italian families living in Edmonton. These were rather widely scattered throughout the city, and accordingly, they tended to integrate quickly in the activities going on around them. All of the old timers who were interviewed were agreed that at that time no real Italian community existed, either geographically or socially. There were no more than two or three families living in the area now occupied by the Italian community. One



Italian who has lived in Edmonton for thirty-seven years remarked that he was there for three years before he saw another Italian.

This dramatic infrequence of contact between the immigrants could is be explained by a variety of reasons, but perhaps it/best illustrated by the extent to which Italians are divided by regional differences, and united by family ties. The families in the city, having straggled in from a variety of areas in Alberta, were mostly cut off from relatives, and were apparently from rather widely-scattered regions of Italy. As a result, they felt little in common and showed no inclination to congregate.

As a whole, this group was apparently a hardy and hard-working lot. Many have not only survived but have become modestly successful. One man in the group became a millionaire—Antonio Anselmo, who founded the New West Construction Company, came from Southern Italy in the 1930's. Several others established small businesses in Edmonton which are still in existence, having lasted for thirty or forty years, and are familiar landmarks to old Edmontonians. Some of the early group of Italians in the city have returned to Italy, but this percentage is apparently not very large.

2.6. The Italian Community Today. It was with the great influx of Italians in the late 1940's and early 1950's that the present Italian community really had its origins. During the 1940's, the Italians began drifting into Edmonton from other areas of Alberta, as the mines where they had been working began closing down. In the 1950's, they began coming in large numbers direct from Italy. For many of the latter group, Edmonton was not their first permanent destination. They often came at the instigation of labor agents who were recruiting cheap



labor for the railroad construction which was still continuing in the northern part of Alberta. One Italian informant told of how he came in 1952, with a group of 700 Italians, all going to work on the railroad. He estimated that in that year no less than 1,200 men came to the Edmonton area. The years of 1953 and 1954 were similarly big immigration years.

Very often the jobs to which men came did not last long. Many worked for only two or three months and then were laid off for the winter period. Some of these men returned to Italy disappointed at the uncertainty of opportunities which existed, and perhaps somewhat glad for the occasion to leave the winter cold. Others found their way into other kinds of work, saved their money, and in time sent for their families. In this way, the opportunities and the limitations of railroad construction employment operated as a kind of attracting and screening process on Italian immigration. There were chronically many work opportunities available which brought in the immigrants, but its seasonal nature tended either to force those who had come into other lines of employment, or to motivate them, in their disappointment, to return to Italy. In this way, many more immigrants stayed temporarily in the area than remained permanently, and those who remained were, no doubt, somewhat select in terms of their toleration for the climate, and perhaps the kinds of opportunities which the prairies offered.

The step of sending for families was, of course, a crucial one.

For the Italian immigration is a family affair. The majority of men

coming to Canada in these groups were married. Wives and families were,

in most instances, very quickly sent for. In the case of unmarried



immigrants, prospective wives were often requested. Once the family was settled, letters to friends and relatives back home acted as effective promotion of immigration. Emigrants returning to Italy for visits have also influenced friends and relatives to join them.

We have noted that the earliest migrants to the city came from diverse districts in Italy and that it was family association which were important to them, rather than association with compatriots. This characteristic of the immigrants, coupled with their rather narrow provincialism and their village and district jealousies, meant that the largest proportion of permanent new Italian immigrants to any area was made up of those already related to some who were already there. The result was that no sooner had wives and children arrived, than brothers, brothers-in-law, cousins, nephews, and perhaps god-children, were encouraged to come as well. The circle of migrating relatives tended to expand continually, as later arrivals, more distantly related to the earlier arrivals, sent first for their own close relatives, and then for their more distant relations. In this way, amazingly large portions of some Italian villages have been transported overseas.

This kind of gravitational process tended to work especially strongly with the migrants from Southern Italy, not only because of the greater poverty of the area, but also because poverty had bred there an especially strong set of mutual aid expectations. This Southern Italian strong family pattern operated, then, to produce in those from this area a strong yearning for proximity to relatives, and a sense of obligation to help relatives share in attractive economic opportunities when these were found, wherever they were found, and to help materially.



This pattern of migration influence is clearly reflected in the interview data. Seventy-four per cent of the 418 subjects who were interviewed said that they had been encouraged by relatives who were already living in Canada, and of this group of 309, 215, or 70 per cent, indicated that they had been helped financially in coming to Canada by their relatives alone, not counting governmental or commercial loans. The data also show that the encouragement and the aid of relatives was more often reported by those from the South than those from the North.

The result of this migration facilitating process is that not only are the majority of Italians in Edmonton from the South. The majority

of these are from one region, Calabria, and the majority of these are from one province, Cosenza. Of the remaining twenty per cent, according to informants, about 15 per cent come from Northern Italy and 5 per cent come from central Italy. The Northern Italians come predominantly from Veneti, and the Central Italians come largely from Latina.

It is clear that both the immigration legal requirements concerning sponsorship and the familial patterns of the people themselves have contributed to this tendency for former inhabitants of the same villages to migrate to the same areas.

The Italian community became located in Edmonton where it is for the same reasons that have governed the location of immigrant colonies in all North American cities. It is an older area of the city, where housing is cheap. One of the first goals of most of the immigrant families, especially of those from the more deprived peasant backgrounds,

As many as 80 per cent are from the South, according to the estimates of some informants, although no more than 60 per cent of the sample members were Southern Italians.



was to buy a house and settle down. As soon as they were able, they would begin to send for relatives who would locate, if not in the same house, at least in close proximity, and these relatives in turn would in time send for yet more. Thus, the area quickly grew in Italian population. Signs of the changing character of the area was the opening, in 1955, of the first Italian store in the area. Within a year or two, a second began business as well.

As the Italian population grew and the importance of special provision for their religious needs became obvious, the Sacred Heart Catholic Church on the western boundary of the emerging Italian district began to hold an Italian celebration of the mass once a month. But this was far from satisfactory for a people as closely oriented to the church, and as used to frequent church attendance as the Italian immigrants were, and so a growing need was felt for an Italian church. In 1957, two priests arrived from Chicago, who were especially trained in the ministry to immigrant groups. With such leadership available the new congregation lost no time in laying plans for the building of a church of their own, and by the end of 1958 the new Italian Church, the Santa Maria Goretti, was completed. It is a large and beautiful structure, built around three sides of a small courtyard or plaza, which has definite, but not overwhelming, characteristics of Italian architectural style.

Most of the Italians who have settled down in Edmonton have rapidly adjusted to their new situation. One gets the distinct impression that they have been even more quick than the average Canadian to settle down with a job, a house, and a car. Their motivation to acquire property is especially strong, and this it is, no doubt, which accounts for the rather paradoxical finding of this study that



the ownership of Canadian property is inversely, rather than directly, associated with indices of integration and acculturation. In their eagerness to acquire property and automobiles they have been well served by their habits of hard work and thrift. As the means have become available, they have opened many shops and small businesses both in and outside of the Italian district.

2.7. Description of the Italian Community. The Italian section of Edmonton is not a large area, nor is it sharply differentiated from other residential areas surrounding, it, although most informants were in close agreement as to where its boundaries ran. Its outlines are shown on the map found in Figure 1. It is an area of about 100 blocks, bounded on the south by 103 Avenue, on the north by 115 Avenue, and in the East by 85 Street, and on the West by 97 Street. The danger of creating a false impression in designating this as "the" Italian Area is seen in the crucial facts that in this area only about one-eighth of the people are actually Italian, and moreover, no more than 30 per cent of the Italians in Edmonton lived in that area in 1961, according to the Dominion Bureau of the Census reports. However, the significance of this area is also seen in the fact that about half of those Italians who now reside in other parts of the city did live in the Italian community at one time.

In appearance, the area is non-descript and often sub-standard.

This was one of the first areas in the city to be settled and now consists of older, low rent houses interspersed with several industrial sections and more widely-scattered industrial land usages, and cut through by secondary arterial streets lined with small businesses.



CENSUS OF CANADA, POPULATION OF ITALIANS IN EDMONTON BY CENSUS AREA FOR 1961



In 1963 the City Planning Department of the city of Edmonton made an urban renewal study which compiled detailed information about many areas of the city, including the McCauley and Alex Taylor areas through which the Italian community extends. A brief summary of the findings

of that study will add to our understanding of the area. It should be born in mind while reading this summary, however, that it does not refer primarily to Italians, since they constitute a minority of the people in this area.

The study shows that this area is characterized by the lowest average family incomes and the lowest average rentals per household to be found in the city. It follows accordingly that in this area there is a high rate of incidence of many kinds of problems. Rates of infant mortality, tuberculosis, and infectious hepatitis are well above the average for the city as a whole. The rate of juvenile problems, current probation cases, child protection cases and family service cases is over twice that for the city. In about one-third of the Italian community area the rate of police problems (reported crimes involving bodily violence) is over one hundred incidents per 1,000 population per year, and in the remainder of the area the rate is between 14 and 25 incidents, whereas for the majority of the city the rate is under 9 incidents per 1,000 population. The number of residential fire calls was about 50 per cent above average (1.30 per 1,000 population) for the years 1960 - 1962 inclusive.

¹Edmonton City Planning Department, Urban Renewal Study for the City of Edmonton, Part I, The Problem, Part II, The Problem Assessed (no publisher or date of publication given). The information which follows is drawn from this report.



The study shows that the housing in the area is frequently both substandard and overcrowded. The proportion of the people in the area living in buildings classified as "in poor condition" is 29 per cent, the highest for any area in the city, and the proportion living in "run-down buildings" is 21 per cent, the second highest in the city. The proportion of people living in substandard basement, attic, and lean-to dwellings is also the second highest for any area in the city, 6 per cent. The result is that no less than 40 per cent of the people in the area are classified as "in need of better accommodation." Ten per cent of the buildings are classified as overcrowded.

In sum, the Italian community lies in the middle of the main blighted area of the city. It is an area characterized by "poor visual street quality," by a variety of factors unfavorable to residential areas, such as bad odor, lack of safety, lack of amenities, depressed appearance, noise, vibration, smoke, dust. This blighted area, "although (including) only 1.4 per cent of the developed city area, accounts for: 6 per cent of city population; 13.3 per cent of juvenile problems; 18.0 per cent of tuberculosis; 7.2 per cent of infant mortality; and 10.4 per cent of residential fire calls."

The Italian community proper does not lie in what is unmistakably the "slum area" of Edmonton, but it is bounded on the south and west sides by this area. On its eastern boundary lie the football stadium and a large industrial area. To the north lies a lower middle class residential area which is distinctly more homogeneous, as well as better in appearance, than the Italian district on which it borders.

⁸Same, Part I, p. 22.



Mixed business and light industrial property is found on several of the larger streets which cut through the area, on 97 Street, 96 Street, and 95 Street and on 111 Avenue. A large playground, a school, and several churches lie within the area. Although a number of Italian stores and businesses are located here, these do not predominate since the Italians constitute only a minority of the population living in the district.

The Italian community, proper, like the larger district in which it is located, is undeniably "run down." Many of the houses are older and in poor repair, and the remainder are small and cheaply constructed. Many have been modified as two-family dwellings, or have been turned into rooming houses. Nevertheless there is a general appearance of tidiness and cleanliness, and many of the houses, although quite shabby on the outside, are remarkably comfortable inside.

The district impresses the observer as remarkably quiet and orderly, in view of its proximity to the slum areas just to the south and west. The streets are generally free of the types of people found in "skid row" a few blocks away; old and ragged homeless men, drunks, easy women. During the day, most of the people to be seen are children and women, with occasionally an older man. In pleasant weather during the evening and on Sunday you find men, mostly younger ones, congregating around several of the small grocery stores. Although a fair number of teenagers will be seen using the playground facilities during the summer and after school, the playground is not remarkable as a hangout for teenage boys' gangs, as is true of another playground a few blocks west.

The mobility rate in the area is rather high. Although many



migrants have lived there ever since their arrival in Edmonton, and apparently intend to stay, many others remain there for a relatively short time. These latter locate in the area initially, usually because they have relatives there, and they find there both the security and the assistance which they badly need in making basic adjustments to life in a new country which is characterized by sharp differences in language, culture, climate, and religion. But observers report that in the past few years there has been an increasing tendency for Italian immigrants to move out of the area after they become better established financially and better acquainted with the city. Their places are taken by newly-arrived immigrants who, in turn, will often follow the same pattern. Some who have been able to observe the community over a period of years believe that the proportion of Italians who live in the district as we have characterized it has begun to decline during the last five years. This is, of course, as one would expect, in view of the decline in Italian migration to Canada during this period. There appears to be some tendency for Italians to move into the north and west areas of the city, although Figure 1 shows that there is a sprinkling of Italians throughout all of the census tracts of the city.

II. FORMAL ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY

2.8. The Church. Three of the most significant social characteristics of the Italian community are: (1) the divisiveness and lack of any very clear sense of collective identity of its members; (2) the meagreness of formal associational life; and (3) the strength and importance of the primary group ties. In this situation all who were



consulted emphasized that the church was of pre-eminent significance in the life of the community, both as the strongest single unifying factor, and as the focal point of its social organization.

A rich and rather varied program of activities centers around the church, which is designed to be attractive and meaningful to Italians of whatever age, district, and degree of acculturation. Each Sunday four masses are held at the Santa Maria Goretti Church. The priest estimated the attendance averages at each of these services as follows:

8:00 Mass -- 75 to 100 people 9:30 Mass -- 200 people 11:00 Mass -- 500 people 12:15 Mass -- 150 people

The 12:15 mass is held exclusively in English, and is attended primarily by Italians who come from other areas of the city and by non-Italians who live in the vicinity of the church. The 8:00 and the 11:00 masses are always said only in Italian, while the 9:30 mass usually involves a combination of both Italian and English for the benefit of those children who cannot understand Italian.

The total weekly attendance at various services in the church averages about 1,000 people at the church.

A number of special interest groups and clubs are organized within the church but all are surprisingly weak considering the large and rather devout congregation. The Holy Name Society is an organization for older men, which is currently not very active with a membership of only about 20. Its activities consist of taking communion together as a group once a month, and occasional social evenings at the church.



The Holy Rosary Society is the church women's group. It is both stronger and more active than the men's organization, and yet its membership is only about forty women. Its activities include not only a monthly communion service, but also occasional dinners and dances, and also sponsorship of a bazaar once a year.

The Catholic Youth Organization consists of both boys and girls clubs, for those aged from about fourteen to twenty years. The membership usually numbers about one hundred and they usually meet together.

Their activities are about half religious and half purely social in nature.

The Saint Maria Goretti Club is supposed to enrol teenage young people, but it does not exist at all now.

Religious festivities are celebrated by the church on two occasions in addition to the usual holy days of the liturgical year.

On July 14, the feast of the Patron Saint Santa Maria Goretti is celebrated with a high mass which is followed by an outdoor procession, a special feature of which is the use of lighted candles. The other event is the celebration of Good Friday with a special Good Friday service which is also followed by a similar out-door religious procession.

The significance of the church to the Italian immigrant is a matter of some difficulty for a non-Italian to understand. The church is usually considered to be of central importance in the life of most Italians, and this is born out by the fact that most of them are likely to be fairly regular in their church attendance. Yet, to many Canadians, Italians may often seem little concerned with religious doctrine and their interest is frequently interpreted as being based on tradition, emotion and superstition.



This can be partially explained by the differences in Italian and Canadian Catholicism. Italian Catholics have always placed great emphasis on the worship of the Virgin Mary while Canadian Catholics stress the Trinity and Christ. For the Italian there is always the Madonna to look to for comfort and new immigrants often find it difficult to understand the lack of churches and sanctuaries dedicated in her name, of feast days in her honor and of images, statues and pictures of the Madonna and child. This lack of a cult of the Virgin Mary in Canada has meant that often immigrants are less interested in this new and somewhat sterner doctrine.

This does not mean that the Italian loses interest in the church but merely that he may take a different approach than that of the Canadian. The church still plays a major role in his life and may be as omnipresent for the new immigrant as it was back in Italy. His devoutness may be unaffected—"It is still a sin not to attend mass," as one Italian indicated. His faithfulness may lack the doctrinal understanding common to Canadian Catholics but it is well supported by the strength of Italian church traditions.

Despite its popularity and the size of the congregation in attendance at mass, clearly the relationship of the Church with newly-arrived immigrants is not free of difficulty. In yet another respect there is often misunderstanding. The Catholicism of the Santa Maria Goretti parish is Italian in language, but is in fact Canadian in most other respects. Thus there are differences in the operation of the church to which the new immigrant must adjust. According to the priest, the most frequent difficulty centers around the payment of tithes and offerings. In Italy, the parish is not supported by the congregation;



thus the Italian Catholic is not accustomed to giving money to the church. The successful religious integration of new Italian migrants depends upon their developing a sense of financial responsibility toward their church, and the priests give a great deal of attention to this end.

The attempt to do this has not been too successful, according to some Italians. One man interviewed remarked that when it came to giving to the church, "Italians love to play the part of the poor," and "always put themselves before God."

There are a number of respects in which the church is an important source of help to the immigrant in his adjustment to Canadian , society. Perhaps the most profound point is that the Italian is in a foreign land where he is, in all public situations, surrounded by those speaking an alien tongue with whom he must attempt to communicate. For this Italian the church is a source of reassurance as a place where Italian is spoken, and where he may immerse himself in a collectivity and in a ritual which has great emotional significance for him.

There are many other less profound but nevertheless important kinds of assistance which the immigrant receives from the Church. Help is given by the priest in such matters as finding a job, getting papers for immigration, finding a place to live, arranging marriages and many other things too numerous to mention. In almost any kind of trouble the priest is available to advise and to act as an interpreter. It is perhaps for some of these reasons that many new immigrants who were not actively religious in Italy have begun to participate in the affairs of the church following their arrival in Edmonton.

It should be noted in this context as well that, because of the



traditional importance of the church in Italian life and because of the importance of the social functions which it serves, participation in the affairs of the church is an important way of gaining acceptance, prestige and renown in the Italian community. The accomplishment of these functions is extremely important, not only to the individuals who may find their way into the limelight in this way, but also to the whole Italian community which, in the fact of the divisiveness which haunts it, has this process available for the recruitment of leadership.

The importance of the unifying function of the church can scarcely be over-estimated. The community itself is, either imminently or potentially, divided in many ways: north against south, region against region, province against province, village against village, family against family, the well-educated against the uneducated, club against club, and so forth. Mother Church, playing her traditional role as a great unifying force, is able to bridge some of the gulfs of misunderstanding and mistrust, and so to unite those who would otherwise be at odds. The greatest weakness of the church in attempting this function is the difficulty which the priests have in getting active participation on a very wide scale, as the membership figures of the church organizations demonstrate.

2.9. Other Organizations in the Italian Community. One of the most striking aspects of the Italian community is the general absence of any significant organizational life, aside from the church. This probably is a result of the predominantly rural background of the Italians in Edmonton. Of the 418 people interviewed during the course of this study, only 46, one out of every nine, were from urban areas. Since primary groups are the characteristic forms of interpersonal



association in rural areas, whereas formal clubs and organizations are a secondary form of association definitely characteristic of urban areas, the weakness of the Italian organizations becomes understandable. It is probable as well that the divisiveness of the community, noted above, has had a crippling effect on organizational growth. With these observations as a preamble, we may note that at the time of the study there were just four Italian organizations active in Edmonton, none of which were very large and only one of which was consequential. Each of these will be described briefly.

The largest and most consequential of the four was the Dante Alighieri Society, named after the famous Italian poet, which is an organization dedicated to the preservation of classical Italian culture and acquainting and informing the rest of the world of its riches. It is officially recognized by the Italian Diplomatic Corps, from whence each chapter receives its charter.

The Edmonton chapter was organized only a few years ago, in 1960, and it is yet a relatively small group with a membership of about fifty members. Membership is by invitation only and demonstration of some degree of sophisticated cultural appreciation, most frequently perhaps through the attainment of higher education, is prerequisite. Accordingly, membership is very much sought after by those who have social ambitions in the community and has a great deal of "snob value." The result of these rather stringent membership qualifications is that many Italians consider the society a divisive force in the community, claiming that the way it operates, serving as an arbiter of social destinies as it has, has fostered much resentment. One Italian put this



feeling succinctly: "It is too smart of a club."

In addition to its major purpose of introducing Italian culture to Canadians, and to a lesser extent acquainting Italians with Canadian culture, it sponsors several Italian language classes for children in the community, awards prizes to leading students, and sponsors several social events during the course of the year.

The Italian Canadian Club is primarily a sports club which sponsors a football team. It has been organized since 1962, and in 1965, at the time of this study, it had a membership of approximately one hundred.

Two other small clubs were in existence in 1965. The Alpini Club is a chapter of an organization which is found in many Italian settlements on non-Italian soil. Its membership is primarily composed of veterans of military service. It sponsors social events occasionally but the main purpose of the group seems to be to foster a sense of loyalty to the mother land. The Lupi della Sila is another small sports club which was organized in 1964. It has a membership of about forty and sponsors a soccer team.

None of these organizations, with the possible exception of the first, have been particularly successful, either in terms of membership or of participation, and this is a source of disappointment to the leaders who were active in organizing them. Two reasons may be suggested for their lack of success. As we noted above, the average Southern, or Northern rural immigrant is not accustomed to formally organized community existence. He lacks education, sophistication, and a sense of civic responsibility and participation. His social life is centered



largely around his family, his relatives, and his friends, who usually were fellow villagers in the old country.

In the second place, during the early years after his arrival in this country, the immigrant's concern is largely for employment and for financial security. He devotes himself, first to bringing other members of his family over, and then to acquiring a house and perhaps a car. In the pursuit of these goals he is very hardworking and thus has neither the interest nor the time for active participation in community affairs. One informant suggested further that it is against the Italian's nature to place himself in a leader-follower relationship unless he is the leader and has charge.

III. INFORMAL ASSOCIATIONS

2.9. The Place of the Family. In the parts of Italy from which most of the immigrants to Edmonton have come, the family unit was the center of activity. While this is less true among the immigrants here, the importance of family ties does not seem to have diminished greatly. Italians tend to, as it were, entrench themselves within the family, and to maintain a somewhat suspicious attitude toward outsiders. This attitude appears to be especially characteristic of those from the South of Italy and is probably a result of the experience of centuries of foreign domination with chronic plundering exploitation. Such a heritage has fostered an emphasis on maintaining family and kin-group unity at all costs. Within the family there are many evidences of a very strong sense of mutual devotion among the members.

Financial aid is very commonly given to relatives in need of it.



Housing is shared with them when need arises. Unemployment on one member is considered a problem of the larger family group. Husbands and wives are said to be willing to make innumerable sacrifices of personal interest to avoid separation. One informant reported that when a friend of his was sick in the hospital "dozens of relatives visited him every day." "Even when quarreling, you must maintain a sense of unity," was another's comment.

2.10. Family Relationships. The typical family is patriarchal in nature. The father is expected to make decisions, and once he has spoken his word is law, although his wife may have a very great deal to do with his making up his mind. Children are trained in rather strict and unquestioning obedience of their parents, and are expected to follow parental directives in many areas where Canadian children expect and enjoy much more of autonomy.

The definition of roles and responsibilities within the family is quite clear. While the father in a typical family is very much respected and honored, the wife is said to want to feel his inferior. Italian husbands are usually very much devoted to their wives who are recognized as being in charge of the humbler duties of homemaking. This role, while limited, is important and the wife is given everything she might need to enhance the home. The wife is considered a reflection of the husband, a means of building prestige, in the sense that she is sub-lieutenant in the general's most important battlefield. Only with the aid of a properly run and impressive home can the husband gain his greatest prestige. Thus, the importance of the Italian woman can hardly be overemphasized even if it is often inconspicuous. The home provides a proper and necessary setting for the Italian man's sense of showmanship.



One Italian, describing the situation of the wife, said "She is a queen, but a queen in a golden prison."

What has been sketched bove is largely the traditional view of the family, but it is a view which does not seem to have altered very much so far in the Edmonton Italian community. It would appear that in this distinctive and core area of Italian life and culture, the immigrants have been successfully resistent to the impact of the Canadian way of life. There are important reasons why one would expect for this not to be so. Many of the Italian women are working, a large number finding employment at Great Western Garment industry. In the sample which was interviewed no less than 46 per cent of the married women were working, full or part-time. Moreover, there is a growing gap between children and their parents in degree of acculturation to Canadian values and integration into Canadian life, which should also inevitably lead to some disruption of the traditional patterning of relationships. But if there is a trend toward a more democratic, equalitarian type of family among very many members of the community, it is yet berely discernible.

It is within the family that the Italian can really relax and enjoy many of the customs dear to his heart, entertaining visitors often with home-made wine and good food. Family celebrations are still a great occasion, and visiting among relatives seems to be a major use of leisure time. It is within this type of family that the Italian child is brought up. Although (a) a obedience training is strict, most people have a great fondness for children, andthe younger ones in particular are held and fondled, discussed, admired, praised, and generally very often made the center of attention. Thus, the children



are brought up in a relaxed, warm atmosphere, redolent with good relationships and the appreciation of good living and good food, all of which are enjoyed with a gusto foreign to the restrained staidness of most Anglo-Canadians.

It is thought by many Italians that the traditional family pattern has a stifling effect on Italian women in this country because of the ways in which they are insulated from contact with Canadian society and culture. The pattern allows for only very limited mixing with the rest of the community whereas the husband and the children have far more access to outside participation. Even if the Italian woman works it is often at the Great Western Garment factory, or some other situation where she is surrounded predominantly by other Italians. She has little opportunity to learn English, while, as her children grow older and progress farther and farther in school they may speak less and less Italian. Her sense of isolation is often heightened by the fact that Italian neighbors and relatives may not be close enough for easy visiting as was common in Italy. That a high proportion of the members of the community--43 per cent of those in the sample--live in the same building with relatives is a mitigating factor. But, on the other hand, it should be remembered that no more than 11 per cent of those living in the Italian community are Italians, and well over half of the Italians live in other areas of the city.

The Italian man also encounters distinctive problems when he comes to live in Edmonton. He is forced to live a far more restrained life than he did at home where his evenings were often spent visiting in the bistros with his friends over a bottle of wine. The bistro provided a very inexpensive and always available setting for sociability and a stage



on which to play certain roles which were dearly loved. It is lacking in any genuinely comparable Canadian equivalent. The nearest counterpart is the extent to which some men congregate in small grocery stores in the Italian area, whiling away the time, but the kinds of scenes which may be enacted there are but pale reflections of the bistro life at home. As one Italian explained, he was now forced into spending his free time doing the gardening and other household chores, which was quite a change from the animated interaction which he formerly enjoyed.

Sunday in Edmonton is an especially big disappointment to the Italian immigrants. In Italy this was the big day of the week when life in all its aspects, dress, food, drink, relationships, etc., were entered into on a scale which set it off from other lesser days. In Edmonton, however, there are neither the facilities, nor the activities, nor (during the long winter) the climate for such traditional, enthusiastic living of life. There is, as one Italian put it, no suitable place in which the Italian is provided with an "audience." Basic to the Italian way of life is a sense of style and of showmanship, which cannot be lived in this part of Canada. It is perhaps this deprivation that he feels most keenly.

For the Southern Italian there are the frustrations of loss of a peasant way of life where distances were always small and an audience was always at hand. For the Nothern Italian there is the loss of the stage on which to enact his sophisticated way of life.

2.11. Conclusion. The Italian community seems in some ways to be disunited. The existence of many lines of cleavage originating from differences in Italian background and, the presence of numerous cliques has caused jealous disagreement and disunity. Rarely, if ever,



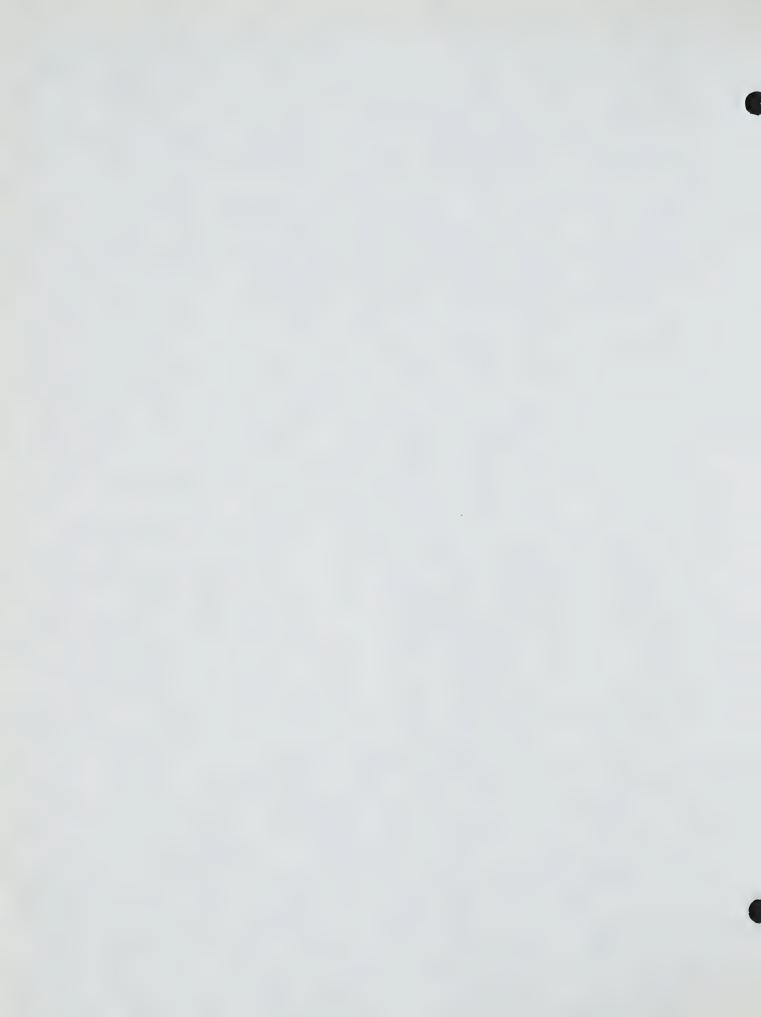
do the immigrants seem motivated to act nationally, in the name of

Italianism. Politically not only are they disunited, but the most

characteristic attitude is one of apathetic disinterest. One of the

most striking features of the group is the lack of community involvement.

Nevertheless, the community is, to a very surprising extent, bound together by a cohemive network which is based on loyalty to the family, to paisano, and to the Church. These are areas of life which so far appear to be less disturbed by the impact of the Canadian way of life than is the case with other immigrant groups. And, the continuing strength of these primary group ties, appears to be the basis for the absence of disorganized behavior which will be discussed in a later chapter. It will be interesting to observe, and it will be of crucial importance to both the Italians and the non-Italians of Edmonton, whether or not these crucially sustaining ties can evolve under the continuing impact of acculturative influences or whether they crack and break, confronting many with the disorganizing necessity of finding new sources of direction, of control and of meaning.



CHAPTER III

ITALIANS IN EDMONTON: THE UNIVERSE AND THE SAMPLE

In this chapter is found a description of the Italian population living in Edmonton, and a description and evaluation of the sample which was interviewed in the present study. Two sources of data are used. The first is a series of special tabulations of the 1961 Census returns, which were cross tabulated with various population characteristics by ethnic origins. This series included special cross tabulations for the city of Edmonton. The second source is the schedules of the 418 interviews which were held with a sample of Italians in Edmonton during the

¹W. E. Kalbach, Impact of post war immigration on the Canadian population, Census monograph in preparation for the Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

spring of 1965. The availability of both sets of data permits use of the Census data as a check upon representativeness of the sample. It should be noted that there are two sizable but unmreasurable sources of error in this procedure: the first is that during the three years and nine months that elapsed from the end time that the Census was taken until the middle of the interviewing period, an inknown number of Italians arrived in Edmonton, and likewise an unknown number left the city. Since there have not been any special censuses or other enumerations taken since the last Census, there is no way of discovering the size of either of these movements. In fact, the emigration is probably a greater source of incomparability than the immigration. The voter enumeration lists from which most of the sample was drawn was compiled



in April, 1962, only ten months after the census was taken, and the number of Italians who would have moved to Edmonton during that interval can be assumed to be rather small. However, the number of Italians who may have moved elsewhere during the interval from June, 1961, when the census was taken, to February 1 to May 1, when the interviewint was done, may have been rather large.

The second source of error in using the census data as a basis of checking the accuracy of the interviewing data is that the present study is a study of the adjustment of Italian immigrants in Edmonton, and the sample studied was made up of foreign-born Italians, with two inadvertent exceptions. Most of the special census tabulations, however, with a few exceptions, show distributions of characteristics of Italians identified in terms of ethnic origins, rather than in terms of birthplace. The difficulty is, of course, that the ethnic origins group includes native-born Italians as well as those foreign-born. The special tabulations do not include a tabulation of ethnic origins by birthplace-by-age which would permit a precise determination of the number of inative-born Italians above twenty years of age in Edmonton, as a basis for discovering the extent to which the census tabulations are compounded with the native-born and thus incomparable with the sample data. The best approximation available is a tabulation of ethnic origins of family heads by birth place, which shows that 204 out of 994 Italian family heads in Edmonton, slightly over 20 per cent, are native This figure is probably slightly low as a basis of estimating the inflation of the census "ethnic origins" tabulations with nativeborn Italians for comparison with the sample data for men. The interview sample included 17 per cent single men, 80 per cent of whom were under 35 years of age. Since we may expect younger cohorts of a group



identified in terms of ethnic origins to have a higher percentage of native-born members, the native-born group probably constitute somewhat more than 20 per cent of the Italian origins group in Edmonton over 20 years of age. It seems probable that the proportion of native-born Italian origins women is also about 20 per cent since on the one hand the data suggest that the Italian immigrant women tended to arrive more recently and at a younger age than the men, and on the other hand the proportion of native-born is related inversely to age. Thus, we conclude that the proportion of native-born in the Italian origins census data is about 20 per cent or slightly larger. Clearly this is a significant source of incomparability between the Italian origins census data and the interview sample data, since native-born Italian-Canadians would tend to be better educated, more highly skilled, and more propserous than the sample members most of whom come from peasant backgrounds and have but recently arrived in this country. Some of the census tabulations which we are interested in are tabulated in terms of birthplace, and these are comparable with the sample data, but for the emigration-immigration changes which took place between June 1961 when the census was taken and April, 1962 when the enumeration of voters was done. In the following section a number of Italian a ethnic origins tabulations will be presented, but these are meant to be suggestive only and it should be remembered that the situation of the Italian immigrants is quite probably less fortunate than these tabulations would suggest.

In the sections which follow we shall thus be making use, as the exposition requires, of three somewhat incomparable sets of data:

Census tabulations of Italian origins people in Edmonton, Census tabulations of Italian-born people in Edmonton, and tabulations from



the sample of Italians interviewed in Edmonton. Comparisons of the latter two will be made at times with reasonable confidence as a basis for evaluating the representativeness of the sample. The material is organized under the following headings: (1) the demographic characteristics of the Italian populace in Edmonton, (2) their process of movement to Canada and their residential history in this country, (3) their educational, occupational, and social class characteristics, and (4) their linguistic characteristics.

It should be repeated that this chapter seeks to serve a dual purpose: to describe the Italian population of Edmonton, and the characteristics of the immigrants who were interviewed. There should be no confusing of the two sets of data.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ITALIANS IN EDMONTON

3.1. The Census Data. In Table I is found a comparison of the age-sex distributions of the British Isles, German, Italian and Ukrainian ethnic origins groups living in the city of Edmonton, according to the census data. The data are grouped as they are to permit comparison with the age-sex distribution of the sample members, despite the fact that there cannot be a very precise comparison since about 20 per cent of the Italian group over 20 years of age is Canadian-born. Accordingly the table shows the percentage of the total under 20 years of age and over 20 years of age, and the latter group is broken down into age groupings which are expressed as percentages of the total group over 20 years of age. The data show that the Italian group, in contrast to the other groups, shows the typical immigrant group pattern



TABLE I

AGE-SEX COMPOSITION OF FOUR ETHNIC ORIGINS GROUPS FOR ALL AGES AND AGED 20 AND OVER, PERCENTAGES ONLY, AND WITH SEX RATIOS

Group	Total No. %	Under 20 No. %	Total Over 20 No. %	20-24	Years ar 25-34	and Over,	Percen 45-54	centages 0	only 54 65-69	-70+	Sex
D : 1 : 1					Andere d'unité établisse de l'internation de l'internatio						
n Isles	1 6	1	(רו ה	7.		0	90	
		40, /1 / 31.	89,260 68.	0		24.00	11.20		3.04	00.00	
Male		20,360 31.5	5 44,352 68.5	10.39	25.29	24.41	17.69	9.98	3.49	æ 73	
Female	65,265	20,357 31.2	44,908		23.71	24.69	16.71		4.19	9.39	99.15
German									٠		
Total	34,385	28.	24,638		35.92		13.09		2.49	3,33	
Male	17,001	28.	6 12,147 71.4	14.71	37.99	20.70	12.71	8,33	2,35	3.19	
Female	17,384	28.	12,491 71.		33.92		13.43		2.63	3.46	97.79
Italian											
Total	4,425	1,634 36.9	2,791	4.		25.15	10.24		1.54	2,68	
Male	2,346	816 34.8	8 1,530 65.2	11.63	39.67	27.12	11.50	5.94	1.69	2.41	
Female	2,079	818 39.3	1,261	$\dot{\circ}$		22.75	8.72		1.34	3.01	112.84
Ukrainian											
Total	32,526	9,185 28.2	23,341	5.	30.39	22.83	14.76	9,75	2.91		
Male .	16,153	27.	8 11,668 72.2	13,33	29.61	23.42	14.62	10.64	3.41	4.94	
Female	16,373	28.	, 11,673 71.	7	31.16	22.24	14.90	8.85	2.42		98.65



of a preponderance of members in the young, productive years, of men, and of children. In all three of these respects it exceeds any of the three comparison groups. Slightly over 40 per cent of the Italians 20 years of age and over fall in the twenty-five through thirty-four year old range. The next closes group is the German group which has also migrated heavily to Edmonton during the post-war years, with 36 per cent, followed by the earlier migrant Ukrainian group with 30 per cent, and the , perhaps normative, British Isles group, with 24.5 per cent.

In terms of sex ratio, the Italian group is the only group with a majority of men. It is also the group with the highest proportion of the total under twenty years of age, 36.9 per cent. It is followed by the British Isles, the German and the Ukrainian groups, in that order.

3.2. The Sample Data. The 418 Italians who were interviewed for this study were all born in Italy with the exception of three, one of whom was born in another part of Europe. Two were born in Canada, and were included in the sample and in the analysis of data through an oversight. Two hundred twelve of the sample members are men and two hundred six are women. Although the men do outnumber the women in Edmonton, 55 per cent to 45 per cent of those over 19 years of age according to the census data, there was no effort made to have the sample representative of the universe at this point.

The age-sex distribution of the sample is found in Table II. One under twenty years of age was interviewed. If we compare the age-sex distribution of the sample with the census data of the Italian origins group in Table I, it is apparent that the sample is slightly older,



64

AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEMBERS, WITH PERCENTAGES

	20 and under	21-24	25-29	30-39	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60+	Total
N	1	11	30	48	54	30	11	18	9	212
Male %	.47	5.2	14.2	22.7	25.5	14.2	5.2	8.5	4.3	100.0
N	5	14	39	45	35	34	10	15	9	206
Female %	2.4	6.8	18.9	21.8	17/0	16.5	4.9	7.3	4.4	100.0
N	6	25	69	93	89	64	21	33	18	418
Total %	1.4	6.0	16.5	22.2	21.3	15.3	5.0	7.9	4.3	100.0



having fewer people in the 20 to 24 year, and the 25 to 34 year group, and a surplus in the 35 to 44 and in the 45 to 54 group. It is possible that the sample is simply unrepresentative at this point. On the other hand, it is perhaps more likely that since the census data include the native born in the Italian origins category, and since the native—born are probably in the younger cohorts, because their parents could not have come to Canada too long ago, the slightly older sample may be, in fact, rather closely representative of the universe of foreign—born Italians in Edmonton. The data in both Tables I and II show the women as slightly younger than the men. Just half of the women in the sample were under 35 years of age, as were 42.9 per cent of the men.

Table III shows the birthplace of the sample members. Over half of the respondents, 57.7 per cent, are from South Italy, while 14.8 per cent are from Central Italy and 27.4 per cent are from North Italy. The overwhelming majority of all the Italian-born subjects were from rural areas, but the plurality of rural born subjects was largest among those born in the South. Only 11.0 per cent of the total sample was born in urban areas, whereas 88.1 per cent were born in rural areas. There are no census data for comparison with the sample data on these points.

The bulk of the respondents' fathers were farmers, and the remainder were largely laborers and semi-skilled workers. Only four sample members were sons of professional or managerial fathers, 8 per cent were sons of white collar workers. Fathers were skilled workers in 19 per cent of the cases, machine operators in 9 per cent, and unskilled workers in 20 per cent of the cases. Pathers were farmers in 44 per cent of the cases.



TABLE III
BIRTHPLACES OF SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGES

	N	Male %	N I	Female %	N	Total %
South Italy, Rural	105	49.5	120	58.3	225	53.8
South Italy, Urban	6	2.8	10	4.9	16	3.8
Central Italy, Rural	29	13.7	20	9.7	49	11.7
Central Italy, Urban	6	2.8	7	3.4	13	3.1
North Italy, Rural	57	26.9	38	18.4	95	22.7
North Italy, Urban	8	3.8	9.	4.4	17	4.1
Total, South Italy	111	52.4	130	63.1	241	57.7
Total Central Italy	35	16.5	27	13.1	62	14.8
Total North Italy	65	30.7	47	22.8	112	27.4
Total Rural	191	90.1	178	86.4	369	88.3
Total Urban	20	9.4	. 26	12.6	46	11.0
Other	1	5.	2	1.0	3	.7
Total	212	100.0	206	100.0	418	100.0



The educational attainments of parents were low. Of the fathers, 18 per cent had no formal education; one-third had had four years or less, and only 8 per cent had had more than six years of schooling.

The level of education of subject's mothers was even lower: 26 per cent had no schooling, another 40 per cent had four years or less, and only five per cent had had more than six years.

The families from which subjects came were large. One-half came from families having more than six children and more than one-fourth came from families of nine or more children. Only one out of every twenty-two children came from one or two child families.

Unfortunately, the census data do not permit a comparison with the sample data in regard to the occupations of fathers, education of fathers and mothers, and number of siblings of Italians in Edmonton.

THE PROCESS OF MOVEMENT TO CANADA

3.3. Census Data. In Table IV are found the years of arrival in Canada, of Edmonton residents originally from Great Britain,
Germany, Italy, and the Ukraine, for the ethnic origins and the foreign born census categories. The data show that the Italians have by far the lowest percentage of native-born, and also the lowest percentage of pre-war immigrants, followed by Germans, Ukrainians, and people from the British Isles. The data for foreign-born show that immigration between 1946 and 1950 was very light, and that immigration from 1951 through 1955 was very light, but that from 1956 through the middle of June, 1961, when the census was taken, the immigration rate of Italians living in Edmonton was about 10 per cent per year. This

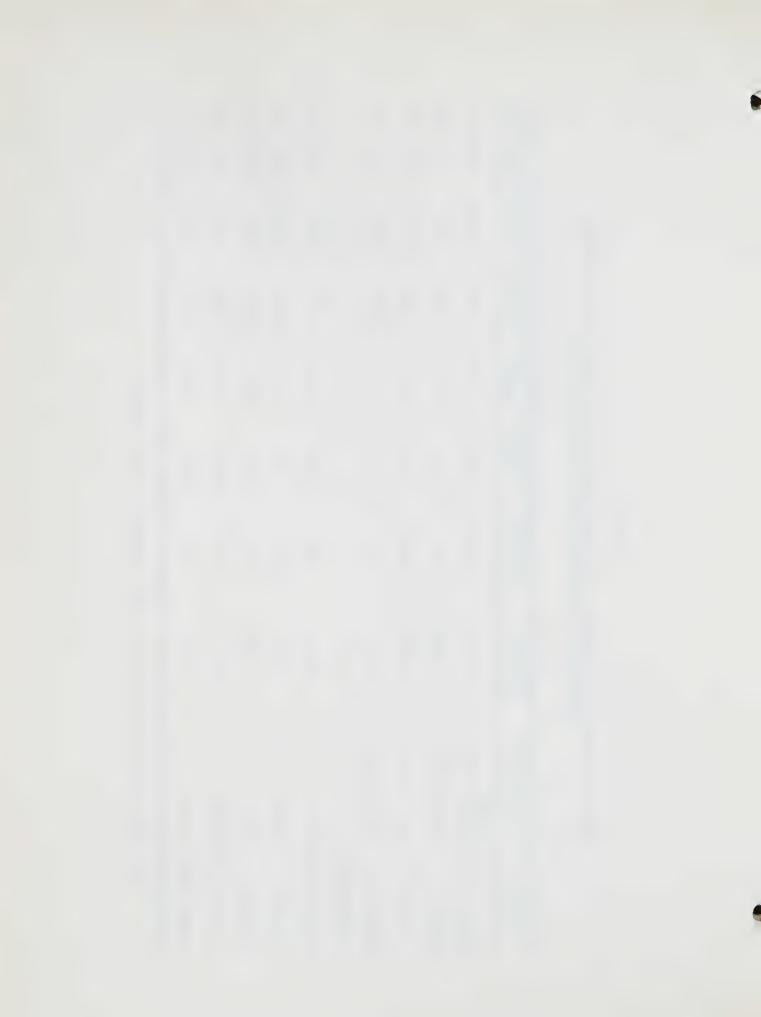


TABLE IV

DATES OF IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, BY ETHNIC ORIGINS AND BY FOREIGN BORN CATEGORIES FOR CENSUS DATA AND SAMPLE DATA, PERCENTAGES ONLY

Ethnic Origins	Nati	Native Born Per Cent	Pre-War Immigration	Post-War Immigration	Immigrati 1946-50	Immigration Immigration 1946-50 1951-55 1956-	(یا ا	nigration 1958-59	Immigration Immigration 7 1958-59 1960 1961
	Total		described and the control of the con				,		
Great Britain 100% 79.1%	100%	79.1%	11.7%	9.2%	2.3%	2.7%	2.6%	1.0%	0.5%0.1%
German	100	64.2	7.92	27.9	3.5	15.6	5.4	2.5	1.1 0.29
Italian	100	38.24	5.09	26.67	1.95	20.50	13.60	13.47	5.64 1.52
Ukrainian	100	83.4	11.5	5.1	3.1	1.4	0.24	0.3	0.1 0.1
FOREIGN BORN									
Great Britain 100	100		53.8	46.2	12.6	13.9	13.4	4.05	1.8 0.4
German	100		7.6	8.00	9.9	48.7	21.1	9.5	3.6 1.1
Italian	100		7.32	92.7	ы. П.	33.7	22.5	21.6	9.2 2.6
Ukrainian, USSR100	SR 100		59.4	40.6	20.8	15.4	2.2	1.6	0.5 0.13
Sample Data ^a	100		1.4	98.6	5.2	38.4	21.0	22.6	8.71 2.7
Sample Data ^d	100		1.4	9*86	5.2	Ö	8.4		21.0

^aIncluding only the 367 cases for whom comparability was possible.



picture is in contrast with the rates of the other groups on the table which show much heavier early post-war rates—especially Ukrainians and British during 1946 to 1950 and Germans during 1951-1955, and rather sharp falling off of the rates during the more recent years.

The movement patterns of the British Isles, German, Italian, and Ukrainian ethnic origins groups during the period 1956 to 1961 for the Province of Alberta as shown in the Census data are found in Table V. These data show that the Italian group has the smallest proportion of non-movers, and of movers in Canada, and the highest proportion of movers from abroad, allest during the five-year period. It should be noted that these data are for all of Alberta, rather than for Edmonton only, as the previous data have been. Unfortunately, this tabulation is not available for Edmonton only. In the case of the Italians, however, it probably makes little difference, since 85 per cent of the Italians in the province live in urban areas, and about 80 per cent of those live in the metropolitan areas of Edmonton or Calgary.

The data show that the rate of inter-provincial and intra-provincial movement of Italians during the 1956 to 1961 period was extremely low, only 7 per cent, which is considerably lower than that of any other group. It is clear that most came directly to Edmonton or Calgary. Within the same community they have been more mobile than the British but less mobile than the German groups. The Ukrainians are not really comparable because many of them live in rural areas, and most of them came to Canada before World War II, as we noted above.

3.4. Sample Data. The distribution of sample members by year of arrival in Canada, by sex, is found in Table VI. The table shows



TABLE V

TYPE OF MOVEMENT DURING 1951-1961 OF MEMBERS OF FOUR ETHNIC GROUPS WHO ARE POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS TO ALBERTA, PERCENTAGES ONLY

	Total	10n-Movers	Vovers in Canada	Same Munici- pality	Different Municipality	Within Same aonivorqm	In Different Province	Continuous Province	Non-Continuous Province	Movers from Abroad	betate toN
	5	1	6								
Dritich Telpe	100.0	20.14	40.34	22.80	17.53	9.74	7.79	3.23	4.56	34.69 0.24	4.59
	100.0	01.08	51.02	32.88	18.14	13.38	4.77	3.09	1.68	23.19 0.21	4.29
German				26.47	7.12		2.94	2.09	0.85	39.09 0.38	7.69
Italian	100.00	19.20	00.00				0	ر ر	9	4.43 0.14	6,15
Ukrainian	100.0	44.92	44.35	33.91	10.44	1.44	3.00	C1.2			- 11



TABLE VI

YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN CANADA OF SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGES

		Total	No Answer	Since 1962	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	. 1955	1954 ,	1953	1952	1951	1950	1940 -49	1930 -39	1929 & Before
	N	212	2	10	10	8	9	16	16	20	18	23	27	11 .	20	9	5	10	-	3
Male	%	100.0	0.94	4.71	4.71	3.77	4.24	7.54	7.54	9.43	8.49	10.84	12.73	5.18	.9.4	4.24	2.4	4.7	1 -	1.41
	N	206	7	3	9	12	23	27	23	29	11	17	15	16	3	é	1	3	1	1
Femal	e %	100.0	3.4	1.5	4.4	5.8	11.16	13.1	11.7	14.1	5.3	8.3	7.3	7.8	1.5	_	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.5
	N	418	9	13	19 .	20	32	43	39	49	29	40	42	27.	23	9	6	13	1	4
Total	%	100.0	2.2	3.1	4.5	4.8	7.7	10.3	9.3	11.7	6.9	9.6	10.0	6.5	5.5	2.2	1.4	. 3.1		1.0



that although the earliest arrivals in our sample came during the 1920's, very few came before 1952. The year of peak migration among the sample members was 1957. The small number which arrived since 1962 is, of course, reflective of the sampling procedure used, which although not designed to sample such recent arrivals, did include a few in substitutions which were permitted at the end of the interviewing period.

If we compare the sample data which are comparable with the census data for foreign born Italians in Edmonton, as found in Table IV, we may get an indication of the representativeness of the sample in terms of their year of arrival in Canada. These data show that the sample is definitely under-representative of pre-war immigrants and somewhat over-representative of those who arrived between 1946 and 1955. It is very closely representative of the migration proportions since then.

The data in Table VI show that the men in the sample arrived, in the average, about three years before the women in the sample did.

Half of the men in the sample had arrived by the end of 1955, whereas not until the end of 1958 had half of all the women interviewed arrived. This is seen more clearly if we look at the sample in terms of duration of Canadian residence, as seen in Table VII. Half of all the men had been in Canada ten years or more, whereas only 28 per cent of the women had been here that long.

The age of sample members at the time of their arrival in Canada is found in Table VIII which shows that most of them were quite young at the time of their arrival. One-fifth were aged 20 or less, 42 per cent were under 25, and two-thirds were under thirty years of age. A



TABLE VII

DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA OF SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGES

	No				YEAR	RS		
	No Data	14+	10-13	7–9	5-6	3-4	2-	Total
N		25	81	53	24	19	10	212
Male %		11.8	38.8	25.0	11.3	9.0	4.7	100.0
N	2	7	51	64	64	22	6	206
Female %	1.0	3.3	24.8	31.1	31.1	10.7	3.0	100.0
N	2 · ·	32	132	117	88 .	41	16	418
Total %	0.5	7.7	31.6	28.0	21.1	9.8	3.8	100.0



TABLE VIII

AGE OF SAMPLE MEMBERS ON ARRIVAL IN CANADA, BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGES

	No Answer	20-	21-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60+	Total
N	2	40	46	62	24	16	12	7	6	2	212
Male %	.9	18.7	21.7	29.2	11.3	7.5	5.7	3.3	2.8	.9	100.0
N	7.	44	45	34	31	17	6	8	6	3	206
Female %	3.4	21.4	21.8	16.5	15.0	8.3	2.9	3.9	2.9	1.5	100.0
N	9	84	91	96	55	33	18	15	12	5	418
Total %	•	20.1	21.8	23.0	13.1	7.9	4.3	3.6	2.9	1.2	100.0



slightly larger proportion of women than men were under 25 years of age on their arrival, but the proportions of each sex group over thirty years of age when they arrived are similar.

Table IX shows where the sample members have lived, since their arrival in Canada. Unfortunately these data are not very closely comparable with the census data found in Table V, since this reports only movement within the last five years, and for the province of Alberta as a whole. However, both are in agreement in indicating a minimum of movement within Canada, exclusive of movement within the same city. The Census data in Table V show that of the 46 per cent who reported movements between cities, 39 per cent came from abroad and only 7 per cent moved between Canadian cities, either within the same province or between provinces. Thus, of this group, 85 per cent moved directly to the city in which the census taker found them without an intervening Canadian location. Table IX shows that a rather comparable proportion of the study sample, 83 per cent, have lived only in Edmonton since their arrival in Canada. This proportion is much larger for women than it is for men. The fact that one-fourth of the men, but only one in twelve of the women had lived in other parts of Canada reflects the practice of men coming to Canada and establishing themselves before sending for their wives or fiances.

RESIDENTIAL AND FAMILY PATTERNS OF ITALIANS IN EDMONTON

3.5. Census Data. Unfortunately the special Census runs supply little information which is relevant to the residential patterns of Italian immigrants in Edmonton. The information which is available may be summarized briefly as follows. A tabulation of the Italian-origins



TABLE IX

PLACES OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA, OF SAMELE MEMBERS BY SEX WITH PERCENTAGES

	Edmonton Only	Edmonton & other Alberta Communities	Edmonton & Toronto	Edmonton & other areas of English Canada	Edmonton & Montreal	Edmonton & other areas of French	Edmonton & English & French Canada	No Data	Total
N	159	6	6	32	4	1	4		212
Male %	75.0	2.8	2.8	15.1	1.9	0.47	1.9		100.0
N	189	(4	1	11			1		206
Female %	91.7	1.9	0.48	5.3			0.48		100.0
N	348	10	7	43	4	1	5		418
Total %	83.3	2.4	1.7	10.3	1.0	0.23	1.2		100.0



component of the Edmonton population aged 15 and over by census tract does show that 40 per cent of the total of 2,651 live within the four census tracts whose boundaries correspond most closely—though not perfectly—the the Italian Community as it was delineated in Chapter II. There is no data available on what proportion of those currently residing outside of the community earlier lived in it.

Marital status data for the Italian origins group for Edmonton is available for subjects aged 15 years and older. Of this group, 63.3 per cent are married and 1.6 per cent are widowed, separated or divorced. Sixty per cent of the men are married and 67 per cent of the women are married. The intermarriage rates of British, German, Italian, and Ukrainian subjects living in Edmonton by period of immigration are found in Table X. The data show that for the post-war immigrants, the rate is lowest for Italians, only 11.6 per cent, followed by Germans with 12.6 per cent. These rates are probably a function of the recency of the migration, as well as of cultural differences, since we have seen that the large-scale Italian immigration is the most recent, Germans having arrived in larger numbers earlier in the post-war period. The intermarriage rates of pre-war Italian immigrants and of native-born Italians are the highest of the four, however, no doubt reflecting the scarcity of eligible Italian women in Alberta at that time.

The percentage of normal families, that is, in which husband and wife are living together, in the four ethnic origins groups by pre- and post-war immigration are found in Table XI. The data show that the Italian group has the highest proportion, for the post-war immigrant group, which no doubt reflects the very low widowhood and separation



TABLE X

INTERMARRIAGE RATES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF BRITISH, GERMANS, ITALIANS
AND UKRAINIANS, FOR EDMONTON BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

	IMM	IGRANTS	
	Native Born	Pre-War	Post-War
British Isles	32•2	21.5	16.2
	70.6		12.6
Gemman		42.1	
Italian	92.4	52.2	11.6
Ukrainian	7 42.6	18.6	19.5



PERCENTAGE OF NORMAL FAMILIES: AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY: AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN: AND PERCENTAGE OF WORKING WIVES: OF BRITISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN ORIGINS GROUPS
IN EDMONTON

	Pre- & Post War Immigrants and Native Born All Fami- Av. Fam. Av. No. lies Size Children				Wives in Labor Percentage of Force Normal Fam. Pre-War Post-War Pre-War Post Immigrants Immigrant				
British Isles	36,840	3.717	1.746	20.6	34.4	. 88.8	94.4		
German	9,858	3.673	1.700	18.1	33.9	88.7	94.6		
Italian	1,115	3.655	1.659	24.0	41.3	88.5	96.6		
Ukrainian	9,049	3.603	1.634	20.6	33.4	88.88	94.4		



rates within this group. The average family size and average number of children for British, German, Italian, and Ukrainian origins groups for Edmonton are also found in Table XI. The data show very nearly the same average size and average numbers of children for all four groups.

However, it will be recalled from the age-sex data cited earlier that the Italian group was younger than were any of the other three groups.

Thus, we may surmise that the average number of children born to completed Italian families will be larger than the number born to completed families of the other ethnic origins groups. Age is also probably related to the fact that a higher proportion of Italian wives are in the labor force than of wives in any other post-war immigrant ethnic group. The figure for Italians is 41.3 per cent. The next highest is 33.9 per cent for German wives, and the lowest is 31.4 per cent for British wives. Although the rates are lower for the pre-war immigrants, the proportion of working wives is still highest among the Italians.

The residential patterns of post-war immigrant families from Britain, Germany, Italy, and the Ukraine are found in Table XII. These data show that although 82 per cent of the Italian families maintain their own households, the proportion of those which do not is almost three times as large as that of the next largest group, the German. The data also show that more than two-thirds (69per cent) of the secondary families, those who do not maintain their own household, live with relatives, which clearly reflects the strength of Italian family ties. The group which most closely approaches this percentage is the Ukrainian with 59 per cent, while only 52 per cent of the British secondary families live with relatives. That these arrangements are, of



TABLE XII

OF BRITISH GERMAN ITALIAN AND HERATNIAN

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS OF BRITISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN FAMILIES IN EDMONTON, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, PERCENTAGES ONLY

	Primary Families (maintain own house-	All Secondary Families (don't maintain own household)	Related Families (family lives with relatives)	Lodging Families (family lives with non-relatives)	Other Secondary Families	
Post-War Immigr British Ides		3.81	2.00	1.68	.13	
German '	93.52	6.48	3.56	2.79	.13	
Italian	81.96	18.04	12.38	5.54	.12	
Ukrainian	94.72	5.28	3.14	1.85	- 29	
Pre-War Immigra British Isles	tion 97.53	2.47	1.82	.57	.07	
German	97.61	2.39	1.64	• 55	. 20	
Italian	96.15	3.85	2.88	. 96	.00	
Ukrainian ,	95.51	4.49	3.83	.66	•00-	



course, very sensitive to economic adjustment and/or acculturation of families is shown by comparing these data with those for pre-war immigrants. The proportion of secondary families where is only 3.8 per cent for Italians, 4.5 per cent for Ukrainians, 2.4 per cent for Germans and 2.5 per cent for British. The rapidity of integration and acculturation of the relatively small Italian group in contrast to the much larger Ukrainian group is reflected in the facts that the latter group has a slightly larger proportion of secondary families, and that more of them live with relatives.

The part that living with relativess plays in the early adjustment of Italian families to Canadian society in Edmonton is rather
clearly suggested by a detailed breakdown of the data for post-war
Italian immigrants. The data in Table XIII show that the proportion
of secondary families increases from 1.92 for the 1946-1950 immigration
group, to 55.6 for the 1961 immigration group. For these same groupings the proportion of secondary families living with relatives increases
from none to 100 per cent.

3.6. Sample Data. A tabulation of the areas of residence in Edmonton of the sample members, classified by sex and duration of residence in Canada, is found in Table XIV. The reader will again recall the designation and description of the Italian Community which is found in Chapter II. The data in the table show that almost three-fourths of the sample members settled in the Italian community at the time of their arrival in Edmonton. More surprising, however, is the fact that over 40 per cent have remained in the community throughout the duration of their stay in Edmonton. Although the proportions of



TABLE XIII

FAMILY TYPES OF ITALIAN FAMILIES IN EDMONTON, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION,
BY PERCENTAGE

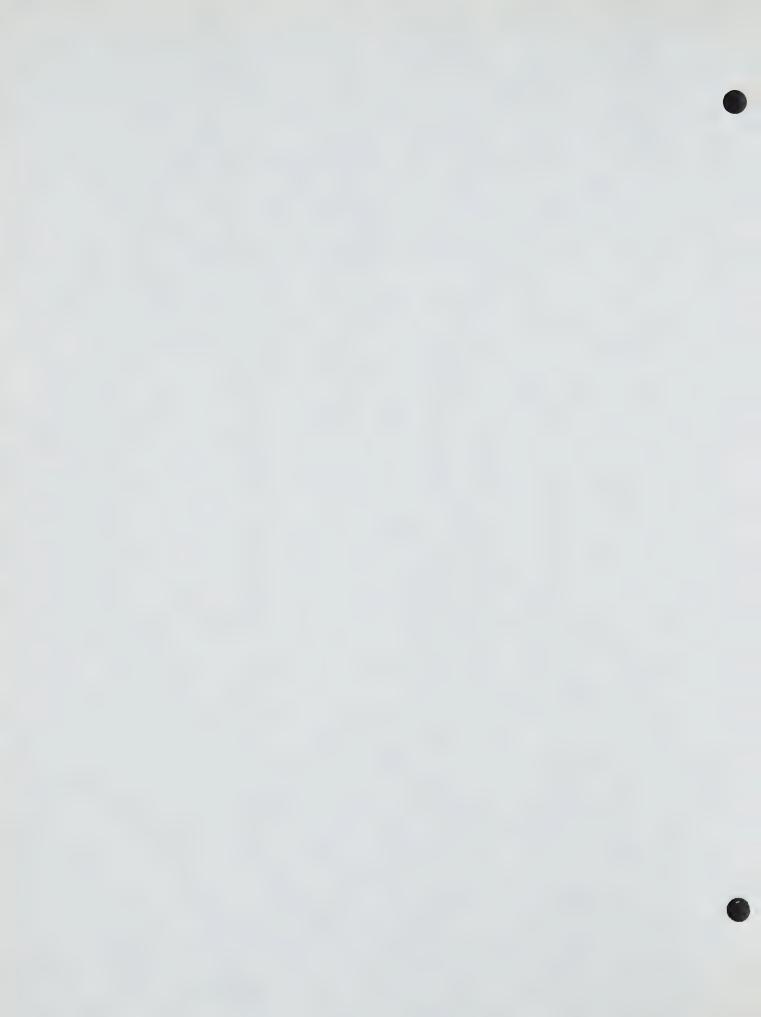
Immigration Period, 722-	Primary Families	All Secondary Families	Related Families
Pre-War	96.15	3.85	2.88
1946-50	98.08	1.92	0.0
1951-55	90.48	9.52	6.12
1956-60	69.65	30.35	21.10
1961	44.44	55.56	55.56



TABLE XIV

RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCE OF SAMPLE MEMBERS BY SEX AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA, WITH PERCENTAGES

		resident of Italian Community Only	t of	Italian and Non- Italian Communities	Resident of Non-	Italian Community Only		lotal
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Short Duration Male	50	47.9	32	30.9	22	21.2	104	100.0
Long Duration Male	46	42.3	37	34.2	25	23.4	108	100.0
Short Duration Female	49	47.1	32	30.4	24	22.5	105	100.0
Long Duration Female	28	28.3	34	39.3	37	37.4	99	100.0
Total Short Duration	99	47.6	64	30.8	46	21.6	209	100.0
Total Long Duration	74	23.3	71	15.7	62	15.1	207	100.0
Total	173	41.6	135	32.4	107	25.7	416	100.0



short duration men and women who stayed in the community are very similar, a distinctly larger proportion of long duration men than women yet lived in the community at the time of the interview. What the reason for this difference might be is not clear. It may be that whereas the cutting point between short and long duration men was at 10 years, for women it was at eight years. The most recent arrivals may tend to settle less frequently in the Italian community, as some informants in the community suggested. 1

Subjects were asked "Are you thinking or planning to move from your present residence in the near future?" Eighty-seven subjects, 28 per cent of the sample gave affirmative answers to this question.

Men said yes just twice as frequently as women, the proportions being 14 and 28 per cent. Although about the same proportions of short and long duration women said "yes" to this question, among the men a higher proportion of long duration men were interested in moving (31.1 per cent) than short duration men (24.5 per cent).

Table XV shows where those who were interested in moving wanted to go. Almost one-half wanted to leave Edmonton and this group was rather evenly divided between men and women, with the exception that only five out of the long duration women who wanted to move wished to leave Edmonton. Of the 41 wishing to leave Edmonton, almost one-half (19) wanted to leave Canada, 14 wanted to return to Europe, and 5 to go to the United States or to Latin America. There are no noteworthy sex or duration differences in these migration wishes.

Of the 46 subjects wishing to move within the Edmonton area, only

¹ See Chapter II.



TABLE XV

AREAS TO WHICH SUBJECTS IN THE SAMPLE WOULD LIKE TO MOVE, BY SEX AND DURATION OF CANADIAN RESIDENCY, WITH PERCENTAGES

Duration	1	Into Italian Community in Edmonton	Within Italian Commu- nity in Edmonton	Outside Italian Commu- nity in Edmonton	Edmonton, Unppecified	Toronto	Other English Canada	French Canada	Italy & other European countries	U.S.A. and Latin Am.	Total
Short Male Long	N % N %	2 6.3	3 11.5 3 9.4	8 30.8 8 25.0	1 3.8 4 12.5	5 19.2 4 12.5	4. 15.4 4 12.5	- 1 3.1	3 11.5 4 12.5	2 7.7 2 6.3	26 100.0 32 100.0
Short Female Long	N % N %		2 13.3 -	2 13.3 5 35.7	4 26.7 4 28.6	- 2 14.3	1 6.7 1 7.1		5 33.4 2 14.3	1 6.7 -	15 100.0 14 100.0
Male Total	N %	2 3.5	6	16 27.6	5 8.6	9 15.5	8	1	7 12.1	4 6.9	58 100.0
Female Total	N %		2 6.9	7 24.1	8 27.6	26.9	2 6.9	-	7 24.1	1 3.4	29 100.0
Total Short	N %	_	5 12.2	10 24.4	5 12.2	5 12.2	5 12.2	-	8 19 . 5	3 7.3	41 100.0
Total Long	N %	2 4.3	3 6.5	13 28.3	8 17.4	6 13.0	5 10.9	1 2.2	6 13.0	2 4.3	46 100.0
Total	N %	2 2.3	8 9.2	23 26.4	13 14.9	11 12.6	10	1	14 16.1	5 5.7	87 100.0



two wished to return to the Italian community from other parts of Edmonton, and both of these were older men. The most popular move, mentioned by one-half of the 46, was from the Italian community to another part of Edmonton. We may probably assume that many of the 13 who failed to specify where in Edmonton they wanted to move were, in fact, interested in leaving the community. Only eight wished to change homes outside of the Italian community, ignoring the group which failed to specify where in Edmonton they wanted to move.

Reasons for wishing to move were given by 83 subjects and they are found in Table XVI. The data show that there are noteworthy age-sex differences, with young men supplying the most reasons, and older women the fewest. Among both women and men, the younger subjects supplied more reasons than did the older subjects. The most commonly cited reason, mentioned by over half of the subjects, and with special frequency by younger subjects, related to style of living. Career and employment reasons were mentioned next most frequently and they were the most common reasons given by older men. Reasons having to do with personal relationships were given in seven cases.

It is clear that the sample as a whole is rather contented with their living circumstances. Almost three-fourths indicated no desire to move at all. Only 19, less than five per cent of the sample, want to leave the country, and another five per cent want to move away from Edmonton. The proportions indicating dissatisfaction with the area of Edmonton in which they live are only slightly larger.

All but 51, 12 per cent of the sample, were married. Forty-one of these were single, thirty of these being men under thirty-five, and



TABLE XVI

REASONS GIVEN FOR WANTING TO MOVE BY SAMPLE MEMBERS BY AGE AND SEX WITH PERCENTAGES

	Child Rais-	Career & Employment	Style of Life	Personal Relation- ships	Climate	Health	Move away from rela- tives	Others	Total
N		7	20	3	2			1	33
Young Male %		21.2	60.6	9.1	6.1			3.07	100.0
N N		9	6	4 .	2	2		٠.	23
Older Male %		39.1	26.1	17.4	8.7	8.7			100.0
N Young Females		3	13		2	1			19
"" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "		15.8	68.4		10.5	5.3			100.0
N Older Females			7			1			8
%			87.5			12.5			100.0
N Males Total		16	26	7	4	2		1	56
wates Total %		28.6	46.4	12.5	7.14	3.6		1.8	100.0
N Tamala Tatal		3	20		2	2			27
Female Total %		11.2	79.1		7.4	7.4			100.0
N V Total		10	33	3 .	4	1		1	52
Younger Total %		19.3	63.5	5.8	7.7	1.9		1.9	100.0
N College Tatal		9	13	4	2	3			31
Older Total %		29.0	42.0	12.9	6.5	9.7			100.0
N ·	,			7	6			1	83
Total %		22.9	55.4	8.4	7.2	4.8		1.2	100.0



only four of them women. Of the remaining ten, six were widowed and four were separated or divorced. Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare these figures with the census data because the latter are based on the population aged fifteen years and over. However, the one comparison that is possible, the proportion that the separated, widowed and divorced, represents of the total married group shows that the sample and the Census data are very comparable. The separated, wodowed, and divorced group was 2.96 per cent of the married group in the case of Italian post-war immigrants to Edmonton, and 2.72 per cent of the sample data.

Only 25 of the respondents reported that they had married nonItalians, an intermarriage rate of 6.8 per cent. Since the Census data
for post-war immigrant Italian family heads shows an intermarriage rate
of 11.6 per cent, the sample used is clearly under-representative of
intermarried subjects. Thirty-three members of the sample reported
that they had siblings who had intermarried. Moreover, well over half,
64 per cent, reported that they had other relatives who had intermarried, most of them reporting that they had three or more such
relatives.

The respondents who were married reported families which are but larger than the Canadian average, by no means as large as the families which they came from. Twenty-nine per cent of the 376 married respondents in the sample have four or more children, but 216, over half of the group, have two children or less. The average number of children is 2.57 per family. This is definitely larger than the average of 1.66 for all Italian origins families living in Edmonton, reported by the



Census. The discrepancy is probably accounted for by the fact that our sample is a slightly older group than the Italian Origins group. More-over the latter group contains 20 per cent of native-born Italian Origins families, and it may be assumed that since they are more acculturated than the immigrants, they probably have a smaller number of children.

When the sample members were asked how many more children they expected to have, 216 answered "none." Only 16 indicated that they expected three or more additional children, and only one said "as many as possible."

At the time that the sample was interviewed, 40 per cent of the wives were working full-time and an additional six per cent were working part-time. These figures are quite comparable with the census data which indicated that 41.5 per cent of the post-war Italian immigrant wives were in the bor force.

Two-thirds of the sample members, have brothers or sisters living in Canada, and half of the sample has two or more siblings in this country. One out of six have all of their siblings here.

An even larger proportion (89 per cent) of the sample has relatives other than spouse and dependent children living in Edmonton.

No less than 54 per cent of the sample members have six or more relatives living in the city. Contact between relatives is very frequent for most members of the sample. Fifty-eight per cent of the 334 subjects having relatives in Edmonton who answered the question indicated that they saw their relatives at least once a day. Only 15 per cent indicated they saw their relatives less than once a week.



One reason for this frequency of interaction between relatives is that no less than 54 per cent of the respondents live in the same building with relatives. In one-third of these cases there are six or more other relatives living in the same building, and in 23 per cent of the cases three generations of relatives live under the same roof.

These family patterns, of course, are reflected intthe living arrangements of the sample members. Subjects were asked, "At present do you live alone or with others?" If you live with others, with whom?" Only 20 of the 51 sample members who were not married were not living with relatives, and two of these were living with close friends.

Home ownership in the sample is high; two-thirds of the respondents indicated that they were either owners or co-owners (11 out of 279) of their residences. Twenty live with others to whom they pay no rent, and the remaining 119 rent their dwellings.

EDUCATIONAL, OCCUPATIONAL, AND SOCIAL CLASS CHARACTERISTICS

3.7. Census Data. The number of years of schooling completed of the British, German, Italian, and Ukrainian origins foreign-born groups in Edmonton according to the 1961 Census are found in Table XVII. The data show that the least educated of the four groups is the Ukrainian, followed by the Italian, the German, and the British groups, in that order. The Ukrainians have a higher proportion who have had some university training than the Italians, however. Almost three per cent of the Italians had had no schooling at all, and the bulk of the remainder, 72.3 per cent, had had only elementary schooling. Twenty-three per cent had attended high school and two per cent had attended university.



92

TABLE XVII

LEVELS OF SCHOOL OF FOUR FOREIGN BORN ETHNIC GROUPS IN EDMONTON, 1961 BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION AND BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS, WITH PERCENTAGES

	To	Total r Per Cent		Total Foreign Number Percent Citizen	N N	orn umber Per Cent Non-Citizen	Pre-War Number	ar Per Cent	No	Post-War mber Per Cent
British Isles No Schooling Elementary School 7,609 High School 1-5 12,628 University 1,878	60 1 7,609 12,628 1,878	0.3 34.3 56.9	46 6,451 9,927 1,424	0.3 36.1 55.6	1,158 2,701 454	0.3 26.8 62.4 10.5	42 6,336 8,680 1,206	0.3 39.0 53.3 7.4	1,273 3,948 672	0.3 21.5 66.8
7	22,175 244 5,842	2.2 53.1	17,848	3.0	4,327	100.0	16,264	100.0	5,911 74 3,888	0.001
chool 1-5 sity	4,343 567 10,996	39.5	2,493 424 6,545	38.1 6.5 100.0	1,850 143 4,451	41.6 3.2 100.0	995 167 3,286	30.3 5.1 100.0	3,348 400 7,710	43.4 5.2 100.0
No Schooling Elementary School High School 1-5 University	34 933 297 24	2.7 72.3 23.1 1.9	13 438 158 15	25.3	21 495 139 9	3.2 74.5 20.9 1.4	151 73 5	3.8 63.4 30.7 2.1	25 782 224 19	2.4 74.5 21.3 1.8
Ö	1,288	100.0	624	100.0	664	100.0	238	16.3	1,050	100.0
chool 1-5	3,904	19.3	3,502	63.3	113	20.02	2,948	67.1	956	56.1
\$	315	5.2	304	100.0	11 566	2.0	109	2.5	206	12.1



Although pre-war Italian immigrants have a slightly higher proportion of people who had no schooling at all than the post-war immigrants, they also had a higher proportion who had had some high school and some university training. Italians who are citizens have slightly higher levels of education than do the non-citizens, according to the data in the table.

The tabulation of the occupations of British, German, Ukrainian, and Italian origins subjects in Edmonton is found in Table XVIII. Examination of these data gives an interesting view of the place of the Italian populace in the occupational structure of the City of Edmonton, and of the part that it plays in contrast to other ethnic groups in that city. It is clear that labor force members coming from the British Ixles hold the highest proportion of "elite positions" in the occupational structure, with 28 per cent in managerial or professional and technical positions, and another thirty per cent in white collar occupations. The relative standings of the German and the Ukrainian ethnic groups is apparently very similar, differentiated only by the higher proportion of craftsmen among the Germans. Both groups have about 16 per cent in the two top positions, and between 20 and 25 per cent in other white collar occupations. In contrast to thse groups having a longer history of Canadian residency, and/or possessing more education on arrival in this country, the much more recently arrived Italians have only 10 per cent in the two top positions, and another 10 per cent in other white collar occupations, even in these figures which include native-born Italians. By contrast, the proportion of Italian laborers is four times as high as are the proportions of



LABOR FORCE OCCUPATION OF FOUR ETHNIC GROUPS IN EDMONTON, PERCENTAGES ONLY TABLE XVIII

	z LetoT	1sirapsnsM	Professional & Technical	Clerical	\$9Ţe \$	Service & noitseroa	-stroqensTT .moJ & noit	Farmers	Other	Craftsmen	Laborers	beist2 joN
Total	100.0 9.86	9.86	12.23	17.87	8, 70	13,75	7,45	0.20	1.45	22.38	4.59	1.53
British Eles	100.0 12.64	12.64	15.15	20.02	10.13	11.48	7.88	0.12	1.39	16.80	2.66	1.72
German	100.0 6.41	6.41	8.59	14.77	6.64	15.24	96.9	0.39	1.44	32,35	5.85	1.36
Ukrainian	100.0 6.87	6.87	10.13	19.50	8.04	14.82	8.38	0.25	1.10	23.88	5.59	1.44
Italian	100.0 5.91	5.91	3.97	6.34	3,76	21.75	3.06	00.00	0.81	29.38	23.20	1.83
Italian Sample only	100.0		0.0	00	7.8	37.7.	2.9	00.00	0.3	45.2	9.3	1.2
Occupation of spouses of sample 372 members Total respondents 715 and spouses	72 100.0 15 100.0		0 0	1.1	3,5	25.8	2.2	0.0	0.0	41.7	10.0	න හ ග හී



Ukrainian or German laborers, and nine times ax high as the proportion of laborers from the British Isles.

Unfortunately a breakdown of these occupational tabulations by ethnic origins for the City of Edmonton by period of immigration was not available, but it was available for the whole of the Province of Alberta. These data are presented in Table XIX, to afford some insight into the occupational mobility of Italians who have been residents of Alberta for some time, and to give a picture of the job attainments of immigrants, with the native-born Italian eliminated from the picture.

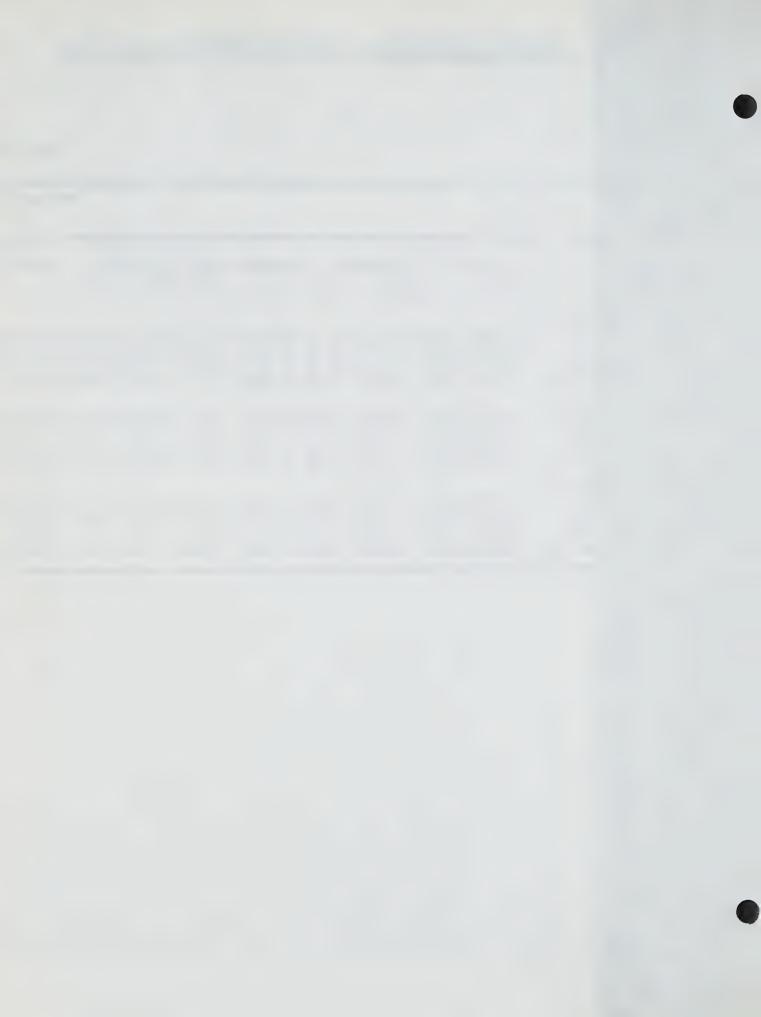
In general, the data found in Table XIX merely strengthen the picture suggested by the previous table. The bulk of the post-war Italian immigrants are in laboring, or craftsmen positions, the bulk of these, we are sure from the interview data, being semi-skilled machine operator positions. At the other extreme only two per cent are in managerial or professional positions, and only another three per cent are in white collar, clerical or sales positions. These proportions are far smaller than those for either of the other two non-English immigrant groups. : Among the Ukrainian post-war immigrants, 12.5 per cent are in managerial or professional positions, and five per cent are in white collar positions. Among the Germans, 12 per cent are in professional or managerial positions and ten per cent are in white collar positions, while the figures for British post-war immigrants are 16 per cent and 29 per cent. Although the Italians are the smallest of the four groups, they contribute the largest number of laborers of any of the four. They also predominate in the service and recreation census



TABLE XIX

* OCCUPATION BY BIRTHPLACE OF BRITISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN FOREIGN BORN GROUPS IN CURRENT EXPERIENCED LABOUR FORCE IN ALBERTA, WITH PERCENTAGES

	Total		Manage	rial	Profes	sional	Cleric	al	Sales		Servic	tion	Communi	rtation, cation &	Craft	smen	Lab	our	Occup Not S	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No. Prim	. Ind. %	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Native Bo	rn						1													
British	169,765	100.0	18,316	10.78	21,311	12.55	24,347	14.34	14,281	8.41	19,121	11.26	39,288	23.14	24,114	14.20	4,480	2.63	4,508	2.65
German	43,213	100.0	2,614	6.04	3,019	6.98	4,768	11.03	2,711	6.27	4,353	10.07	16,063	37.17	7,094	16.41	1,537	3.55	1,054	2.43
Italian	2,030	100.0	211	10.39	217	10.68	337	16.60	172	8.47	253	12.46	378	18.62	345	16.99	63	3.10	54	2.66
Ukrainian		100.0	2,098	6.18	2,793	8.24	4,507	13.29	1,902	5.61	3,220	9.50	12,292	36.26	5,282	15.58	1,127	3.32	673	1.98
Pre-War																				
British	21,077	100.0	2,821	13.38	1,561	7.40	2,529	11.99	1,437	6.81	3,270	15.51	5,277	25.03	3,300	15.65	583	2.76	299	1.41
German	2,379	100.0	177	7.44	83	3.48	76	3.19	73	3.06	263	11.05	1,192	50.10	415	17.44	76	3.18	24	1.00
Italian	463	100.0	70	15.11	13	2.80	25	5.39	14	3.02	86	18.57	117	25.26	93	20.08	39	8.42	6	1.29
Ukrainian	7,231	100.0	395	5.46	171	2.36	148	2.04	110	1.52	751	10.38	4,058	56.11	1,136	15.71	304	4.20	158	2.18
Post-War										-			,							
British	12,387	100.0	980	7.91	2,201	17.76	2,378	19.19	1,166	9.41	1,973	15.92	954	7.70	2,188	17.66	254	2.05	293	2.36
German	10,435	100.0	537	5.14	709	6.79	691	6.62	381	3.65	1,908	18.28	1,228	11.76	4,185	40.10	713	6.83	83	0.75
Italian	3,564	100.0	46	1.29	34	0.95	56	1.57	38	1.06	749	21.01	239	6.70	1,351	37.90	898	25.19	153	4.2
Ukrainian	2,059	100.0	67	3.26	190	9.22	74	3.59	34	1.65	355	17.24	310	15.05	680	3:.02	288	13.98	61	2.90



job category, we may be sure in largely unskilled positions.

The occupational positions of pre-war Italian immigrants in Alberta are very much higher, according to the data in Table XIX. At the low end of the scale they still have the highest proportion of workers in laborer (8.4 per cent) and craftsmen (20.1 per cent). But at the other extreme, 15 per cent are in managerial positions -- no doubt primarily in small businesses -- and 2.8 per cent are professionals, thus exceeding the proportion of Ukrainians who are professionals (2.4 per cent). In proportion of workers in white collar positions, the pre-war Italian immigrants stand second only to the English, with 8 per cent in these categories, as compared with 4 per cent for the Ukrainians and 7 per cent for the Germans. It should be noted, however, that the relative standing of the Ukrainians is depressed by the fact that large numbers of them are farmers living in rural settings who are grouped with transportation and communication workers in the Table. If the data were for urban residents alone the proportion of Ukrainian workers. in higher occupational positions would be very much higher -- in fact about twice as high.

The occupational standings of native-born Italians are remarkably high. Only the native-born Canadians of British origins have a smaller proportion of laborers, and only the British have a higher proportion of managerial, and of professional workers. The native-born Italians rank first in proportion of clerical workers and of sales workers, as well as service and recreation workers and craftsmen.

Thus, it is clear that whereas the post-war Italian immigrants are at the bottom of the occupational ladder in comparison with other



post-war immigrant groups, the positions of the pre-war and native-born Italians testify to the eagerness and effectiveness of their mobility striving. It will be interesting to observe whether the barriers to rapid acculturation which the increasing size of the Italian community in Edmonont poses will act to reduce the speed of upward mobility of the more recent immigrants and of their children.

3.8. Sample Data. The data found in Table XX show that the educational attainments of the sample, are indeed modest. Only six per cent have had no schooling at all, but over one-third have had less than five years of schooling, and fewer than one in ten have had more than eight years of schooling. Only three subjects in the entire sample of 418 have graduated from University. Men are better educated than are women, and younger subjects are better educated than are older subjects. Only 12 of the 103 older women have had more than six years of schooling, and none have attended university, whereas thirteen have had no schooling. Comparison of these data with those in Table XVII suggest that the sample data are doubtfully representative of foreign-born Italian population in Edmonton according to the 1961 Census data. The sample is somewhat over-representative of those with no schooling (6 per cent as compared with 2.7 per cent) and of those with only elementary schooling (83 per cent, compared with 72 per cent) and under-representative of those with some high school education (7.4 per cent compared with 23.1 per cent). In view of the fear which less well educated Italians show of all things pertaining to government, it is possible that some of them may have exaggerated their educational attainments to the



TABLE XX

YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF SAMPLE MEMBERS BY AGE AND SEX WITH PERCENTAGES

					Ye	ars of	f Scho	oling	Co	mplete	
		0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-13		niver.	Total
Young	N	1	3	15	46	24	5	6	0	-	100
roung	%	1.0	3.0	15.0	46.0	24.0	5.0	6.0	0	0	100.0
Older	N	7	4	31	48	10	5	3	1	3	112
Older	мен %	6.3	3.6	27.7	42.9	8.9	4.5	2.7	0.9	2.7	100.0
Vouna	N Women	4	4	29	40	15	3	6	2	0	103
roung	%	3.9	3.9	28.2	38.8	14.6	2.9	5.8	1.9	0	100.0
01 400	N Women	13	7	34	37	9	2	1	0	0	103
Order	%	12.6	6.8	33.0	35.9	8.7	1.9	1.0	0	0	100.0
Total	N	8	7	46	94	34	10	9	1	3	212
10.91	%	3.8	3.3	21.7	44.3	16.0	4.7	4.2	0.47	1.4	100.0
Total	women	17	II	63	77	24	5	7	2	Q	206
•	%	8.3	5.3	30.6	37.4	11.7	2.4	3.4	1.0	0	100.0
Tatal	N	5	7	44	86	39	8	12	2	0	203
lotal	Young %	2.5	3.4	21.7	42.4	19.2	3.9	6.0	1.0	0	100.0
Total	N	20	11	65	85	19	7	4	1	3	215
10141	%	9.3	5.1	30.2	39.5	8.8	3.3	1.7	0.5	1.4	100.0
FF2	N	25	18	109	171	58	15	16	3	3	418
Total	%	6.0	4.3	26.0	40.9	13.9	3.6	3.8	0.7	0.7	100.0



census taker in order to make themselves seem more valuable additions to the Canadian populace. On the other hand, it is possible that the sample is simply biased in favor of lower class respondents.

The occupations at which sample members had worked prior to their departure from Italy reflect the rather low level of education of the group. Of the 363 members of the sample for whom data are available, the largest proportion, 35 per cent, were farmers. The next largest group were skilled manual workers, comprising 24 per cent of the sample, followed by the unskilled laborers who included 22 per cent. Fourteen per cent were semi-skilled workers, and only six per cent--20 out of the 363--were in white collar occupations. There were no higher executives, professionals or administrators.

Since arriving in Canada, the men in the sample have improved their occupational status somewhat, but the positions of most of them are still rather low as the last line of Table XVI demonstrates. This table shows the occupations of sample members according to the census classification. Fifty-four per cent of the employed sample members and their employed mates are classed as either unskilled laborers or craftsmen. Only five per cent are in clerical, sales, or higher level white collar employment.

A detailed comparison of the occupational distributions of Italians in Edmonton as found in the census data and the sample data in Table XVIII will give further insight into the adequacy of the sampling procedures used in this study. A word of explanation concerning the three lines of data for the Italian sample members at the bottom of the table is necessary. The first line gives the occupations of the



343 subjects who were interviewed who are themselves employed. The second line gives the occupations of their employed spouses as reported by those interviewees who were married. The last line shows the summation of the previous two lines. The distributions in all three of these sets of data are quite comparable, although respondents failed to state their spouses occupations in a higher percentage of cases than they failed to report their own. We turn now to a comparison of the Census and the Interview data. It would seem at first glance that in the sample data there was under-representation of laborers and white collar occupations, and an over-representation of craftsmen and of service and recreational workers. In fact these discrepancies are perhaps more apparent than real, and are probably due to uncertain reporting by interviewees and resulting imprecise coding by the coders. It seems probable that many of the Italian workers who fall in the "craftsman" category are, in fact, marginal between it and laborers, and that many in the white collar categories of "professional and technical," "clerical," and "sales," may be marginal between those categories and "service and recreation." Thus, it seems probable that many of the respondents coded as "craftsmen" should have been coded as laborers, had more precise occupational data and/or a coding routine more comparable with Dominion Bureau of Statistics procedures been used. Likewise. it seems probable that some of the respondents coded as "service and recreational" should have been coded as "clerical" and "sales" and perhaps as "technical." In support of this argument it is worth noting that if the percentage of craftsmen and laborers for "total respondents and spouses" is totaled the sume of 53.4 per cent is very similar to the corresponding sum of 52.6 per cent for these two job



categories found in the census figures. Similarly, if the proportions of "professional and technical," "clerical," "sales," and "service and recreation" are combined, the sum of 363 per cent is very close to the sum of 35.8 per cent for the same occupational categories in the census figures for the Italian sample.

There are a 'number of reasons why the category of managerial occupations is so under-represented in the sample. The most important is that the census data are for Italian Origins subjects, whereas ours are for Italian immigrants. We have seen that 20 per cent of the Italian household heads in Edmonton are native-born, and we have seen in Table XIX that the native-born include a very much higher proportion of managerial members than do the post-war immigrant group, for the whole of the Italian population of Alberta. It is, of course, possible as well that this group is under-represented in the sample. If this is so, there may be a variety of reasons. Perhaps it was under-represented in the sample that was drawn; perhaps the few that were drawn were either harder to contact because they were more mobile, or more often refused to be interviewed by interviewers who were selected primarily in terms of their ability to establish rapport with subjects in more modest circumstances. Perhaps some of those coded by the census as "managerial" were "managers" of small corner cafes or grocery stores who were coded as service and recreational workers in the present study. We suspect that some of all of these sources of distortion were involved. There is some possibility that the study sample is simply under-represented at this point. However, the proportion of managerial personnel according to sensus figures is so small, 6 per cent, that there seems to be little cause for serious concern about this source of invalidity in the study



as a whole.

We have noted above that the occupational placement of Italians in Edmonton is low in comparison with the placement of oyther ethnic groups. This same pattern is found when we look at their occupations, not in terms of their function, but as an index of their social class position. This involves classification of their occupations, not in terms of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics categories, but in terms of Hollingshead social class categories, as found in Table XXI. These data show that almost one-half of the males and husbands (48.3 per cent) were unskilled workers. Almost one-fourth were in the skilled worker, and the same proportion was in the lower white collar categories. The top four categories, all of the white collar positions, included only four per cent of the total. Thus, from a social class perspective the sample could be categorized as being almost exclusively lower middle class, upper lower class, and lower class, with only sixteen out of the total of 418 in the middle class or above. There is some tendency for the older men to be over-represented in the unskilled worker category and under-represented in the skilled worker and lower white collar categories, but there are no such differentials in the higher categories. A breakdown of these data by duration of Canadian residence is available only for the male respondents (i.e., not for the husbands of female respondents). These data show that the longer duration of Canadian residence subjects are slightly under-represented in the unskilled and skilled worker categories, and over-represented in the white collar categories. These data suggest that the higher educational attainments of the younger men enable them to obtain somewhat higher jobs, and also

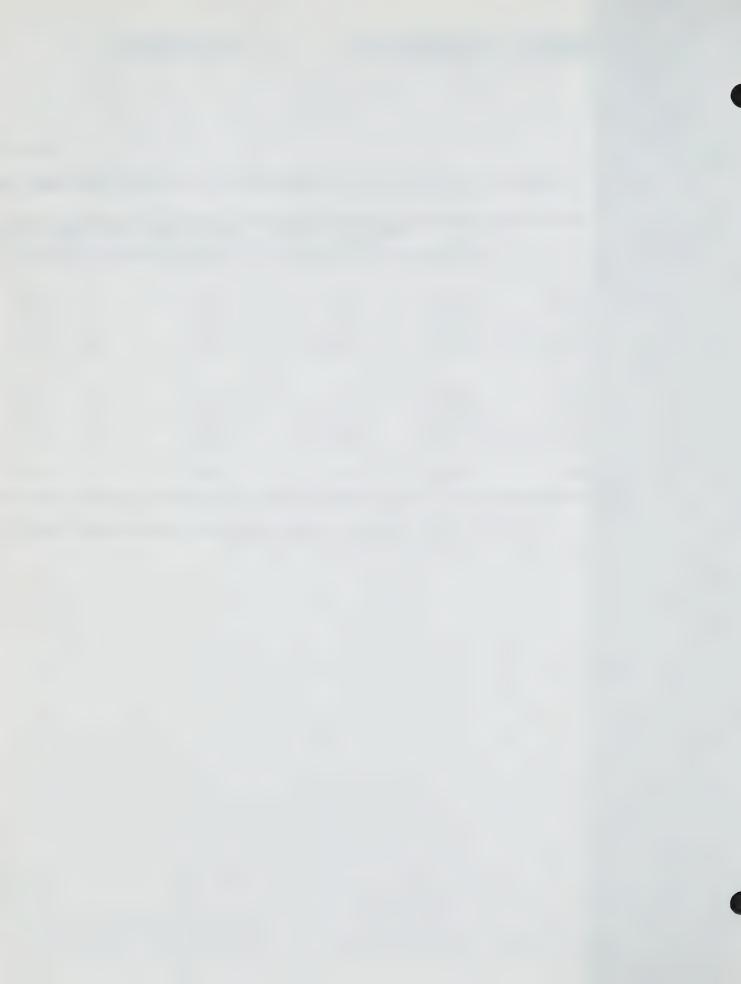


TABLE XXI

HOLLINGSHEAD CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS OF MALE SAMPLE MEMBERS AND HUSBANDS OF FEMALE SAMPLE MEMBERS BY AGE AND DURATION, PERCENTAGES ONLY

	Total	Higher Executive Professional	Managers and Lesser Professionals	Administration, Small Business, Minor Prof.	Clerical & Skilled Technician	Skilled Manual	Operators & Semi Skilled	Unskilled
Men								
	100.0	0.0	0.0	1.6				
~		* * * *		1.0	3.0	31.3	34.3	30.3
Old	100.0	0.9	0.9	0.0	2.7	19.1	26.4	50.0
Short Duration	100.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	22.3	32.0	42.7
Long Duration	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	24.5	27.9	28.8	37.8
						2007	20.0	37.0
Women								
Young	100.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	23.5	17.3	EE 1
01 d	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1			55.1
Short Duration		0.0	1.1			22.7	15.5	57.7
				0.0	2.1	20.0	11.6	64.2
Long Duration	100.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	3.2	24.7	20.4	50.5
Total	100.0	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.7	04.0		
	200.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	2.7	24.0	23.5	48.3

^aOccupations of husbands of female respondents are dichotomized in terms of the ages and durations of Canadian residence of the wives since these data were not recorded for husbands.



that the men who have lived in Canada a longer time are able to qualify for slightly higher jobs, as well.

We have noted above that there was a high rate of home ownership among the sample members, including about two-thirds of the group. The strong desire for property ownership which is characteristic of rural people from peasant backgrounds is no doubt responsible. Ownership of Canadian property beyond the home was rare among sample members. Only 29 respondents, or seven per cent of the sample, indicated that they had other commercial or business property, and in 22 out of the 29 cases this property consisted of a second house which was rented.

Slightly over one-third (35.7 per cent) indicated that they owned property in Italy. In most cases, 82 out of 148, the property owned was a home. In 36 cases it was a small business or a farm that was owned and in the remaining 30 cases there was business or commercial property ownership as well as home ownership. It is noteworthy that such income property ownership in Italy is slightly more common than is Canadian income property ownership.

LINGUISTIC PROFICIENCY OF ITALIANS IN EDMONTON

3.9. Census Data. A final area which we shall consider in this chapter is the linguistic adjustment of Italians in Edmonton. In Table XXII are found the proportions of British, German, Italian, and Ukrainian origins immigrants in Edmonton who speak English, French, both, or neither, classified by period of immigration. The data show that for both the post-war immigrants, it is the Italians who speak the least English, although among the pre-war immigrants, it is they who most frequently speak both English and French. Twenty per cent of the



TABLE XXII

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF FOUR FOREIGN BORN ETHNIC GROUPS BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, PERCENTAGES ONLY

	English	French	Both	Neither	Total
PRE-WAR IMMIGRANTS					
British Isles German Italian Ukrainian	97.93 97.35 86.55 94.29	.04	2.01 2.25 11.76 .59	.02 .37 1.68 5.12	100.0 100.0 100.0
POST-WAR IMMIGRANTS					
British Isles German Italian Ukrainian	94.65 93.66 75.56 90.70	.04 .13 .45 .31	5.30 3.07 4.26 4.26	.02 3.14 19.73 4.73	100.0 100.0 100.0
TOTAL IMMIGRANTS					
British Isles Male Female German Male Female Italian Male Female Ukrainian Male Female	97.93 98.06 98.23 96.99 95.07 94.55 81.02 81.36 67.69 97.69 97.46 96.14	.05 .00 .00 .08 .03 .14 .28 .36 .37 .02	1.96 1.94 1.77 1.54 2.70 1.91 4.49 6.07 2.76 1.14 1.50 1.03	.06 .00 1.39 2.20 3.41 14.22 12.20 29.18 1.15 1.03 2.80	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0



post-war Italians did not speak English at the time that the census was taken. In view of the frequent insulation of Italian women from contacts with the larger society, it is to be expected that they will not speak English far more frequently than their husbands. Unfortunately, there is no sex breakdown of ethnic origins by official language by period of immigration but there is for all immigrants, and these data are found in the table. They show that the incidence of not speaking English is about two and one-half times as frequent for Italian women as for men, the percentages being 12 per cent for the men and 29 per cent for the women. The data thus show that the pre-war Italian immigrants have good mastery of English and far better mastery of French than most of the Edmonton populace. However, the English mastery of the post-war Italian immigrants is shaky, and we are perhaps safe in estimating that as many as one-third or more of the women do not speak English.

3.10. Sample Data. Rather than asking respondents "how well do you speak English?" or having the interviewers make a rating of the English proficiency of those whom they interviewed, we included in the schedule the questions "What language do you speak with your wife/hus-band?" "What language do your children use among themselves?" "What language do you speak to your children?" Table XXIII shows the proportions of the sample who answered "Italian," "English," and "both English and Italian" to these questions, classified by sex and by duration of Canadian residence. The data show that an overwhelming proportion of the respondents speak Italian to their mates and to their children.

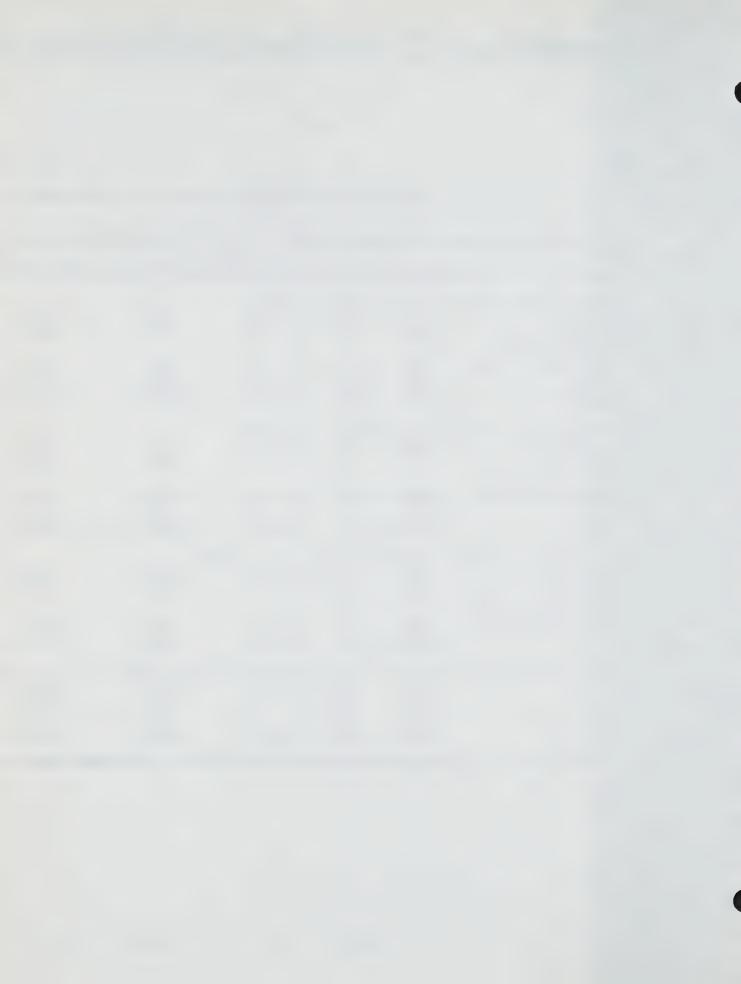
Of the 375 subjects who answered the first question, 86 per cent spoke only Italian, six per cent spoke only English, and eight per cent spoke



TABLE XXIII

LANGUAGES SPOKEN TO MATE AND TO CHILDREN AND BETWEEN CHILDREN BY SEX, AGE, AND DURATION OF CANADIAN RESIDENCE, PERCENTAGES ONLY

					Men		Wom		
	Young Men	Old Men	Young Women	Old Women	Short Duration	Long Duration	Short Duration	Long Duration	Total
orb. 4 9 9 1-									
What language do				05.0	06.4	40.0			
Italian	71.6	79.2	92.9	95.9	86.4	68.3	94.8	94.6	85.6
English	12.2	8.5	3.1	2.1	2.5	15.4	3.1	2.2	6.1
Sometimes Italian									
Sometimes English		11.3	4.1	2.1	9.9	16.3	2.1	3.3	8.0
Other	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
What language do	vou speak w	ith your c	hildren?						
Italian	62.7	66.7	83.5	84.4	74.4	57.6	83.7	85.2	74.4
English	10.4	16.2	6.6	3.1	6.4	19.2	5.4	4.5	. 6.4
Sometimes Italian					3.4	1702	3.4	4.5	. 0.4
Sometimes English	26.9	16.2	9.9	12.5	17.9	23,2	10.9	10.2	17.9
Other	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1.3
	20010	10000		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
What language do	your childr	en use amo	ng themselves	?					
Italian	31.0	. 21.8	45.2	28.9	24.7	25.3	51.4	23.4	24.7
English	34.5	61.4	41.1	56.6	45.2	57.1	38.9	58.4	45.2
Sometimes Italian			10.7		13.2	0.11	30.9	30.4	43.2
Sometimes English		16.8	13.7	14.5	30.1	17.6	9.7	18.2	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		30.1
	2000	20000	10000	20000	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Would you like th	at your chi	ld should	be able to sp	eak, read,	and write Italian	1?			
Yes	96.9	96:3	94.8	98.9	96.1	97.2	95.7	97.8	96.1
No ·	0.0	0.9	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.0
Don't care	3.1	2.8	4.1	1.1	2.9	2.8	4.3	1.1	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



both to their mates. A slightly smaller percentage spoke Italian to their children. Of the 359 respondents to this question, 75 per cent spoke only Italian to their children, 9 per cent spoke only English, and 16 per cent spoke both to their children.

As might be expected from the influence of their schooling, the children spoke far less Italian to each other. Half of them were reported by the 315 respondents to this question, as speaking both English and Italian to each other. Thirty-one per cent were reported as speaking only Italian to each other, and 19 per cent spoke only English to each other.

The data show that there are strong sex differences, and duration differences as well but only among the men. Men spoke English to their wives and to their children more often than the women spoke English. The incidence of Italian speaking to these family members was almost 20 per cent less among the longer duration Italian men than among the shorter duration men. The incidence of speaking both more of English and more of both languages is higher among those who have been in Canada longer.

A distinctly smaller proportion of the younger men than older men reported speaking Italian to their wives, and there was a much smaller differential among the women. Similarly, fewer younger men reported speaking Italian to their children, but there was no such differential among the women.

There were some interesting differences in the reports of the language that children spoke among themselves. Women more frequently reported that their children spoke Italian (36.5 per cent) than did men



(25.2 per cent) but both agreed that English was spoken by the majority of their children to each other. Younger men and women reported "both English and Italian" as spoken between their children more frequently than did the older respondents, perhaps as a result of the younger ages of their children (hence their greater exposure only to the exclusively Italian influence of their homes), perhaps because the children have not attended Canadian schools long enough to acquire greater English fluency.

An interesting pattern shows when the responses to this item of the men and women in this sample are divided in terms of duration of Canadian residence. There are no differences in the responses of the short and long duration men. However, the short duration women report a much higher incidence of Italian speaking among their children (51.4 per cent) than do the longer duration women (23.4 per cent). The explanation of the discrepancy between the reports of the short duration men and women appears to lie in part in the fact that the short duration women had been in Canada almost three years less time than the short duration men. The difference in the reports of the short and the long duration women probably reflects differences in the exposure of their children to English influences, especially schooling.

It is clear from these data that the majority of all the respondents still use the Italian language whenever they are able. It is equally clear that their children find English the most convenient language to use.

3.11. Summary. In this chapter we have described the old country situations from which the members of our sample came, and some



aspects of their move to Canada and settlement in Edmonton, their familial relationships and living arrangements in Edmonton, their educational attainments, the kind of work they last performed in Italy and their current occupations in Edmonton. Finally, we have considered some data describing the kind of linguistic adjustment which they and their children are making in Canada.

Throughout this chapter, wherever possible, comparable census data for Italians in Edmonton were presented in order (1) to make available a basis for assessing the representativeness of the sample which was interviewed in this study, and (2) to make possible some comparisons between the Italians and some other immigrant groups in Edmonton: the Ukrainian—another group from a largely poor, uneducated, peasant background, the Germans—another group which has arrived in large numbers predominantly since World War II, and the British—the group which has the fewest problems of accommodation to Canadian society.

The assessment of the adequacy of the sample is complicated by the fact that most of the census data have been for the whole Italian origins group in Edmonton, a group which contains a sizable number of native-born Canadians of Italian origin. Although precise figures on the proportion which is native-born are lacking, and of course, vary with the age range of the group under consideration, one indication of their strength is that 20 per cent of the Italian origins heads of families are native-born. The most closely comparable group are the total Italian foreign-born group, but few of the census data are presented for this group alone.

Making such comparisons as are possible, then, in view of the scant data available, it appears that the sample which was interviewed



is slightly under-representative of pre-war immigrants and of those who are better educated and so in higher occupational positions. Since the proportion which the pre-war immigrants comprise of the total immigrant group is low, 9.3 per cent, and the proportion which those in managerial and professional positions comprise of all foreign-born Italian workers in Alberta is very low, 0.4 per cent, according to the Census data, this slight source of bias seems to give little basis for concern.

The comparisons made with the other three ethnic origins groups give clear indications that, in a number of ways, the Italian group is the least advanced and the least acculturated. For example, its composite position on the occupational hierarchy is the lowest, and it has the lowest proportion of those able to speak English. On the other hand, if comparisons are made in terms of pre-war immigrants alone it is apparent that the Italians have become well acculturated and well adjusted in Canadian society, in terms of English mastery, intermarriage, and occupational level, etc. It seems certain that this remarkable speed of integration was due to the fact that the number of Italians was very small, so that if they were to find friends and often find marriage partners they must find them in the ranks of non-Italians, and that from them they acquired English proficiency and perhaps some of the skills and sophistications which enabled them to climb the occupational ladder. It seems equally certain that this influence will no longer be operating significantly among Italian immigrants in Edmonton, since their numbers have increased to the point where it is perhaps most convenient and least stressful to interact on a casual friendly basis predominantly with other Italian immigrants.

In the next chapter we shall continue the description of the



Italian immigrants in Edmonton, and their way of life, which we have begun, making use primarily of the interview data.



CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE AND CULTURE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY AND THE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE MEMBER

In this chapter we shall continue the process, begun in the last chapter, of describing the study sample and the Italian community in Edmonton as revealed in our questionnaire data. The material will be organized under the following headings: family size and structure, primary associations and social life, religious and political participation and attitudes, associational memberships, mass media—exposure and use, leisure time activities, values and orientations to life, and personality characteristics of sample members.

FAMILY SIZE AND STRUCTURE

We have noted above that the age and sex structure of the sample of Italian immigrants interviewed compares rather closely with the Census figures for the Italians origins group over 20 years of age in Edmonton. Of the 212 men in the sample, 172, or 81 per cent are married and 18 per cent are single, with two widowed and one divorced. Thirty per cent of the men under thirty-six years of age are single, but only six per cent of the men aged thirty-six and over are single. Of the 206 women in the sample only four are single, all under 35 years of age. Four women are widowed, and three are separated, but 95 per cent of the women in the sample are married.

The reader will recall a number of other relevant facts from the



previous chapter, Most of the sample members came from very large families. However, they are quite unanimous in not wanting to have as many children as their parents had. In fact, Table I shows the ideal number of children mentioned by the sample members is quite small. Just over half of the sample mentioned one, two, or three children, and only 15 per cent mentioned five or more children. Only three in the entire sample, all older women, answered as "many as possible." There are interesting differences between sex, age, and duration groups. Men wanted somewhat smaller families than women. There were no differences between older and younger men in ideal number of children, but the older women definitely wanted more children than did the younger women. The more recent arrivals clearly wanted fewer children than did the earlier arrivals. Among men, the percentage mentioning three or fewer children as ideal was 24 per cent higher among the short duration than the long duration respondents, and among the women this differential was 12 per cent.

It is clear from this that Canadian residence increases the child-bearing aspirations of Italian couples since, with men in particular, there are no aged differences in aspirations. Why this should be is not known.

Despite the fact that the sample is virtually 100 per cent Catholic, our findings show that very many of the respondents intend to control the size of their families through use of birth control devices. In response to the statement "In my marriage I want my children to be planned with the aid of birth control devices" 35 per cent of the 324 subjects who answered the item responded either "strongly Agree" or "Agree," as the data in Table II shows. The only age-sex difference in



TABLE I

IDEAL WULBER OF CHILDREN SUGGESTED BY SAMPLE MEMBERS BY SEX-AGE AND SEX-DURATION WITH PERCENTAGES

Age-Sex Scx-Duration	L ON	Total No. %	1-2 No. %	3 % No. %	4 .cN	5and more	As m pe	As many as e possible No. %
Total	365	100	62 16.50	124 34.00	124 34.10	52 14.20	i m	0.80
Total male	172	100	33 19.18	65 37.79	53 30.81	21 12.22	0	00.00
Total female	193	100	29 15.03	59 30.57	71 36.79	31 16.06	m	1.55
Total younger	165	100	31 18.79	58 35.15	61 36.97	15 9.09	0	00.00
Total older	200	100	31 15.50	66 33.00	63 31.50	37 18.50	က	1.50
Young male	69	100	11 15.94	28 40.61	25 36.20	5 7.25	0	00.00
Older male	103	100	22 21.36	37 35.91	28 27.20	16 15.53	0	00.0
Young female	96	100	20 20.80	30 31.30	36 37.50	10 10.40	0	00.00
Older female	65	100	9 9.25	29 29.90	35 36.10	21 21.65	m	3.10
Total recent	174	100	40 22.99	64 36.78	45 25.87	24 13.79	~	0.57
Total early	189	100	22 11.64	59 31.22	78 41.27	28 14.81	7	1.06

aFifty-three subjects failed to respond to this item.



TABLE II

ATTITUDES TOWARD USE OF BIRTH CONTROL DEVICES OF SAMPLE MEMBERS BY AGE AND SEX, AND SEX-DURATION WITH PERCENTAGES

Age-Sex Sex-Duration	To No.	Total %	Strongly No.	ly Agree	Aç.	Agree %	Dis No.	Disagree %	Strongly No.	ly Disagree %
Total	324	100	89	21.0	47	14.5	57	17.6	152	46.9
Total male	176	100	48	27.3	17	7.6	8	11.4	91	51.6
Total female	148	100	. 8	13.5	30	20.3	37	25.0	19	41.2
Total younger	169	100	32	18.9	31	18,3	34	20.2	. 72	42.6
Total older	155	100	36	23.3	16	10.3	23	24.8	08	51.6
Young male	84	100	19	22.6	E C	17.9	13	15.5	37	44.0
Older male	92	100	29	31.5	2	2.2	7	7.6	54	58.7
Young female	82	100		15.3	16	18.8	21	24.7	35	41.2
Older female	63	100	7	11.1	77	22.2	16	25.4	. 56	41.3
Total recent	158	100	35	21.6	23	14.7	28	17.8	72	45.9
Total early	164	100	33	20.1	23	14.0	28	17.1	80	48.8
	AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERT	to examinating comments of example to the company of the company o	Final control of the							

a Eighty-four subjects failed to respond to this item.



the extent of this agreement is a tendency for young men to agree more frequently than the other three groups. Men were more likely to agree strongly than women, with the older men responding "strongly agree" most frequently, and the older women so responding least frequently. However, the older men also responded "strongly disagree" more frequently than any other age—sex group. The influence of the Church is probably, seen in the fact that subjects who disagree were more likely to disagree strongly, than subjects who agreed were likely to agree strongly. There were no differences between the groups by duration of Canadian residence in response to this item.

The reader will also recall that more than four out of every five respondents had relatives in Edmonton other than mates and dependent children, and that more than half of these lived in the same building with some of these relatives. Thus it is clear that Italian familism, and the influence of the family group, are very strong among the members of our sample.

Among the married respondents, a large proportion of the wives worked. Forty per cent of the 377 wives directly or indirectly contacted in this study were reported as working full-time, and an additional six per cent as working part-time. The willingness of the Italian women to work hard was admired by sample members as indicated by their overwhelmingly affirmative response (81 per cent) to the question "Would you say that one of the things you admire about Italian women is that they will pitch in and do strenuous work when it needs to be done, as Canadian women will not?" But almost three out of four (74 per cent) said they felt that it was not "a good thing for a woman to have a paying job after she is married." The discrepancy between preference



and practice is not doubt explained by the desire of respondents to obtain goods that can only be attained by having wives work.

Some insight into the structure of the families represented in our sample may be gained from a number of items dealing with the division of labor and authority between husband and wife, the claims which the family has upon them and which they have upon each other, and with attitudes toward various child-rearing practices. Three items deal with division of authority, or the relative dominance of husband and wife: "In my marriage I want the husband alone to make the important decisions for his family." "In my marriage I want the husband and the wife to have an equal voice in making family decisions." "In my marriage I want the wife to gracefully accept whatever money the husband feels he can give her." The responses to these three items, found in Table III, appear, at first glance, to be contradictory. Over one-third, (36 per cent) of the 411 who responded to the first statement indicated that they agreed with it. However, in response to the second statement virtually the entire sample (97.3 per cent) indicated agreement. And yet, 71 per cent of the 404 who responded to the third statement agreed that they wanted the wife to gracefully accept whatever money the husband felt he could give to her. The resolution of this contradiction appears to be that it is expected that husbands will talk over important decisions with their wives, but it is also commonly felt that in the end the husband alone should decide, and that in financial matters, the responsibility for making decisions is his alone. There are some interesting age-sex differences, as the data in the table shows. Men tend to be less equalitarian on the first item than women,



TABLE III

RESPONSES OF SAMPLE MEMBERS TO ITEMS DEALING WITH DIVISION OF AUTHORITY BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES BY AGE, SEX, AND DURATION, PERCENTAGES ONLY.

Marriage I want the husband alone to make the important decisions for his righty agree 23.4 35.4 34.3 12.6 11.1 23.7 35.6 32.4 13.1 18.8 7.4 11.7 15.2 12.7 16.8 9.3 36.7 21.8 18.5 50.5 56.5 36.5 22.8 19.4 10.0 100.0		Total	Young men	S-SEX Old men	Young	01d Women	Total	DUR. Men Short	DURATION n Wen ort Long	Women Short	Women Long
Jly agree 23.4 35.4 34.3 12.6 11.1 23.7 35.6 32.4 32.4 13.1 18.8 7.4 11.7 15.2 12.7 16.8 9.3 cee 36.7 21.8 18.5 50.5 56.5 36.5 22.8 19.4 31.4 disagree 26.8 24.0 39.8 25.2 17.2 27.1 24.8 38.9 100.0 1	I want				to make			cisions	for hi	family	
ree 36.7 21.8 18.5 50.5 56.5 36.5 22.8 19.4 31.4 disagree 26.8 24.0 39.8 25.2 17.2 27.1 24.8 38.9 38.9 100.0	Strongly agree	23.4		34.3	12.6	11.1	23.7	35.6	32.4	13.0	11.6
disagree 26.8 24.0 39.8 25.2 17.2 27.1 24.8 38.9 disagree 26.8 24.0 39.8 25.2 17.2 27.1 24.8 38.9 loo. 100.0	Agree	13.1		7.4	11.7	15.2	12.7	16.8	6,3	11.0	14.7
oisagree 20.8 24.0 39.8 25.2 17.2 27.1 24.8 38.9 along sagree 20.8 24.0 39.8 25.2 17.2 27.1 24.8 38.9 loo. 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 17.2 27.7 21.3 1.5 1.0 0.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 0.0 0.9 1.5 1.0 0.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 0.0 0.9 1.5 1.0 0.9 1.0 100.0 10		36.7		18.5	50.5	56.5	36.5	22.8	19.4	54.0	52.6
riage I want the husband and the wife to have an equal voice in making agree 63.8 64.9 80.7 56.3 51.5 64.2 69.3 75.9 33.5 32.0 15.6 41.8 46.5 33.4 27.7 21.3 1.5 1.0 0.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 0.0 0.9 1.9 disagree 1.2 2.1 2.8 0.0 0.0 100.0	Strongly disagree	20.02		2	25.2	16.2	27.1		300	22.0	21.1
agree 63.8 64.9 80.7 56.3 51.5 64.2 69.3 75.9 disagree 1.2 2.1 2.8 0.0 100.0 1	Total	100.0	0.00	00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
agree 63.8 64.9 80.7 56.3 51.5 64.2 69.3 75.9 disagree 12.0 55.2 61.7 33.0 100	1-1				wife	o have a	ednal	e (m-i		family	decisions
disagree 1.5 1.0 0.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 0.0 0.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 0.0 0.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 3.0 1.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 3.0 1.9 1.9 1.2 3.0 1.9 1.9 1.2 3.0 1.9 1.9 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0	Strongly agree	63.8	64.9	80.7	56.3	51.5	64.2	69.3	75.0	57.4	51.6
disagree 1.5 1.0 0.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 0.0 0.9 1.9 1.9 2.0 1.2 3.0 1.9 3.0 1.9 3.0 1.9 3.0 1.9 3.0 1.9 3.0 1.9 3.0 1.9 1.0 100	Agree	33.5	32.0	15.6	41.8	46.5	33.4	27.7	21.3	40.6	. 46.3
disagree 1.2 2.1 2.8 0.0 0.0 1.2 3.0 1.9 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 riage I want the wife to gracefully accept whatever money the husband fe agree 45.0 55.2 61.7 33.0 28.9 45.0 59.3 57.0 26.2 17.7 11.2 37.0 40.2 26.0 14.9 15.9 16.8 17.7 9.3 19.0 21.6 16.6 14.9 11.2 disagree 12.0 9.4 17.8 11.0 9.3 12.4 10.9 15.9	Disagree	1.5	1.0	0.9	1.9	2.0	1.2	0.0	0.9	2.0	2.1
agree 45.0 55.2 61.7 33.0 28.9 45.0 59.3 57.0 26.2 17.7 11.2 37.0 40.2 26.0 14.9 15.9 16.8 17.7 9.3 19.0 21.6 16.6 14.9 15.9 disagree 12.0 9.4 17.8 11.0 9.3 12.4 10.9 15.9		1.2	2.1	2.8	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.0	0	0.0	0.0
agree 45.0 55.2 61.7 33.0 28.9 45.0 59.3 57.0 26.2 17.7 11.2 37.0 40.2 26.0 14.9 15.9 16.8 17.7 9.3 19.0 21.6 16.6 14.9 11.2 disagree 12.0 5.4 17.8 11.0 9.3 12.4 10.9 15.9	Total			0.001	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
agree 45.0 55.2 61.7 33.0 28.9 45.0 59.3 57.0 26.2 17.7 11.2 37.0 40.2 26.0 14.9 15.9 16.8 17.7 9.3 19.0 21.6 16.6 14.9 11.2 disagree 12.0 9.4 17.8 11.0 9.3 12.4 10.9 15.9	-		40	racefu	7 <	pt whater		the	Ch-I	eels he	can give her.
26.2 17.7 11.2 37.0 40.2 26.0 14.9 15.9 16.8 17.7 9.3 19.0 21.6 16.6 14.9 11.2 disagree 12.0 9.4 17.8 11.0 9.3 12.4 10.9 15.9	Strongly agree	45.0	55.2	61.7	33.0	28.9	45.0	59.3	0	33.7	27.0
16.8 17.7 9.3 19.0 21.6 16.6 14.9 11.2 disagree 12.0 9.4 17.8 11.0 9.3 12.4 10.9 15.9	Agree	26.2	17.7	11.2	37.0	40.2	26.0	14.9	10	31.6	44.6
ngly disagree 12.0 9.4 17.8 11.0 9.3 12.4 10.9 15.9	Disagree	16.8	17.7	0,0	19.0	21.6	16.6	14.9	0	23.5	10.1
		12.0	4	17.8-	11.0	6.0	12.4	10.9	.0	11.2	9.6
	Total	100.0	100.0]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



with the younger men and the more recently arrived men especially so.

No age or duration differences in the responses of women to this item

are found.

In response to the second item, the younger men and those who have been in Canada a shorther period of time, and the women tended to response to the third item. Both men and women agreed with this statement with equal frequency, although men much more frequently strongly agreed with it. Within the sex groups there were no age or duration differences worth noting.

Responses to two items dealing with women working are found in Table IV. There are striking sex differences in response to the item.

"In my marriage I want the wife to share in the financial support of the family as much as she is able." Men support their claims to exclusiveness in financial decision-making by disagreeing with the statement in 60 per cent of the cases, but women, more realisticly as our data on employment of married women suggest, agreed with the statement in nine out of ten cases. This same kind of pattern is found in response to another related item. In response to the question, "Do you think it is a good thing for a woman to have a paying job after she is married?" 63 per cent of the women and 80 per cent of the men said "no."

The responses to this item show that young men and young women are somewhat more likely to expect wives to work than older men and women, and likewise, that both men and women who have been in Canada a shorter duration are more: likely to agree strongly with the statement than the long duration respondents.



TABLE IV

RESPONSES OF SAMPLE WEIBERS TO ITEMS DEALING WITH WOMEN WORKING BY AGE, SEX, AND DURATION PERCENTAGES ONLY

			AGE				DO	DURA TION	inarekijija vilitiga dilija, iek jimakhhalajek jemuy titinolok ja	
	Total	Young	Men	Young	Women	Total	Men Short	Men Long	Women	Momen
In my marriage I want the wife to	t the w	ife to	share in		the financial	support	of the fac	nily as	the family as much as s	she is able
Strongly agree	27.8	21.9	21.3	37.3	31.3	27.7	27.9	13.6	39.4	31.6
Agree	38.2	28.1	15.7	52.9	57.6	37.7	23.1	21.8	51.5	57.9
Disagree	8.0	11.5	6.5	6.9	9.1	c c c	10.6	7.3	7.1	7.4
Strongly Disagree	25.4	38.5	56.5	2.9	2.0	26.5	38.5	57.3	2.0	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0 100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Do you think it is a good thi	good t	hing for		n to ha	ve a pa	a woman to have a paying job after she	after she		is married? Why?	ç.
Yes	28.0	11.2	26.8	34.7	3000	26.1	19.6	16.5	41.8	27.7
0	72.0	88	73.2	65.3	61.2	73.0	79.4	83.5	58.2	69.1
Yes, to be in-										
dependent of husband	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	e
Yes, if financially	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
necessary										
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
								The state of the s		



A third item dealing with women working elicited a different pattern of responses. In response to the item, "Would you say that one of the things you admire about Italian women is that they will pitch in and do strenuous work when it needs to be done, as Canadian women will not?" 82 per cent of the men and 80 per cent of the women said "yes." There were no significant differences by age or by duration of Canadian residence in responses to this item. Thus, hardworkingness in women is apparently valued by both sexes. The item does not specify that the work is at a paying job, but the item clearly covers the situation where a woman might pitch in and do strenuous work at a paying job when this needs to be done to strengthen family finances.

More than four out of five of the 410 respondents to the item agreed with the statement "In my marriage I want an equal sharing of housework if both husband and wife have jobs outside the home." Men more often agreed with the statement than did women (82 per cent and 72 per cent). Interestingly enough, the shorter duration respondents among both the men and the women were more likely to agree than the longer duration subjects, although the differences are not large.

Thus, it appears that alghough men are expected to make the financial decisions for the family, women are very often expected to help earn family income. When they do, however, there is the feeling that men ought to help with the housework.

Three items dealt with the relative claims of family and of work on the time and energy of the husband: "In my marriage I want the wife to accept the fact that the husband will devote most of his time to getting ahead and becoming a success." "I want the kind of marriage



in which the family has first claim on the husband's time, even if it interferes with his getting ahead in the world," and "In my marriage I want the wife to be responsible for training our children so that the husband can concentrate on getting ahead." The data in Table V suggest that there are a number of subjects who would like for the husband to be able to devote himself completely both to his work and to his family. Eighty per cent of the sample agreed that the husband should devote most of his time to getting ahead, while 55 per cent agreed that the family should have first claim on the husband's time, even at the price of success. Seventy per cent agreed that the wife should be responsible for child training so that the husband can concentrate on becoming successful. These responses adequately suggest the claims of both familism and of upward mobility obligations which the sample members feel.

The sex, age and duration of Canadian residence differentials in response to the first item are slight. Men more often agreed strongly that men should devote most of their time to getting ahead butthe proportion of each of the four age-sex groups expressing agreement with the statement ranged from 76 to 84 per cent. Older subjects showed a more frequently slight tendency to agree/with the statement than younger subjects.

There were no duration differences in response.

There were very strong sex, age, and duration differentials in response to the item specifying that the family should have first claim on the husband's time. Twice as many men as women agreed with the statement, the percentages being 72 per cent for the men and 36 per cent for the women. Slightly more older men agreed with the statement



TABLE V

RESPONSES OF SAMPLE MEMBERS TO ITEMS DEALING WITH FAMILY ROLE OF FATHER BY AGE, SEX, AND DURATION PERCENTAGES ONLY

			AGE-SEX	revision to the state and the state of the s				DURATION	7	
Performance of the symplectory principles and a performance of the state of the sta	Total	Young	01d Men	Young	Old Women	Total	Men	Men Long_	Women	Women
In my marriage I want the getting ahead and becoming	want the wife d becoming a s	wife to a succe	accept	the fact	that the	husband	will de	devote mos	t of his	time to
Strongly agree Agree Disagree	39.0	33.33	63.8 20.4 5.6	22.2 53.5 11.1	62.2	38.5	51.0	56.2 25.7 6.7	18.1 58.5	25.3
Strongly disagree	10.4	12.1	10.2	13.1		10.3	11.0	e rii (11	6.6
lotal	0.001	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.001	100.0	0.001	100.0	100.0	0.001
I want the kind of a interferes with his	f marriage is getting	e in whi	ch the	family h	has first	claim on	the hus	husband's t	cime, even	n if it
Strongly agree Agree	34.9	44.9	62.7	21.6	4.5 23.9	34.2	47.4	55.7	17.6	10.3
Disagree Strongly disagree	33.6	22.4	4-	44.4	58.0	34.2	25.3	3	51.6	51.8
	100.0	0 0	, O			100.0			100.0	. 0
In my marriage I v	I want the wif getting ahead	fe to	be resp	responsible	for training	cur	children	n so that	the	husband can
Strongly agree	28.0	53.6	66.1	23.8	16.1	40.5	55.0	62.3	22.1	19.1
9 -	4.00	14.1	4.6	24.8	32.3	18.0	10.0	7.5	24.2	31.9
strongly alsagree	7.77	7 - 7 -	17.0	7 · I I	17.9	17.4	14.0	10°4	10°0	0.00
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
			The state of the s							



(75 per cent) than younger men (68 per cent), but many more younger women agreed (42 per cent) than older women (28 per cent). These differentials were much stronger in the proportions agreeing strongly. Longer duration men agreed more often with the statement than did shorter duration men, while among the women this relationship was just reversed. It would appear that women aremore concerned about economic security while men profess, at least, to place family involvement values above economic values. Aging and/or continued residence in Canada increase these differences between the two sex groups.

Paradoxically, the same general pattern of responses is seen for the third item which states that the wife should be responsible for training the children so that the husband can concentrate on getting ahead. Seventy-nine per cent of the men, but only 59 per cent of the women agree with the statement, but men agreed strongly with the statement three times as frequently as did women (60 per cent and 20 per cent). Older men were more frequent and stronger in their agreement with the statement than were younger men, while younger women were more frequent and stronger in their agreement than were older women. Longer duration men were more frequent and stronger in their agreement than were shorter duration men, while shorter duration women were more frequent and stronger in their agreement than were longer duration women.

What these contradictory data appear to reflect is what Kirkpatrick has called ethical inconsistency in the marital role wishes

 $^{^{1}}$ Kirkpatrick, Clifford. The family as process and institution. New York: Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 164-165.



of each group: each appears to claim for itself certain advantages while ascribing to the other sex group the burdens which would tend to go with the advantages claimed. Thus, men appear to place family values over economic values, but they want their wives to be primarily responsible for raising their children. Women, on the other hand, emphasize more the importance of economic success, but often disagree that they should be primarily responsible for training children while their husbands devote themselves to the pursuit of success.

Just one item deals with the conflict which a woman may feel between her family obligations and her social life: "I want the kind of marriage in which the family has first claim on the wife's time, though it may interfere with her social life." It might be expected, in view of the rather simple backgrounds of most of those interviewed that this would not be much of an issue with this sample, and this was found to be the case. Eighty-six per cent of the sample agreed with the statement and there were no differences in the amount of agreement between men and women (87 per cent and 86 per cent respectively) but men did strongly agree with the statement much more frequently (70 per cent) than did women (30 per cent). The older men agreed more frequently and more strongly with the statement than did younger men, and older women agreed somewhat more frequently than did younger women. There were no noteworthy responses differentials by duration of Canadian residence.

One item dealt with another aspect of familism, that is, relationships with in-laws. This item stated, "I would object to long and frequent visits from the husband's or the wife's parents after marriage."

The continued strength of familism is seen in the fact that almost three



out of four (73 per cent) said that they would not object. Men were more likely to object (33 per cent) than women (17 per cent). There were no age differences. However, the eroding effect of continued Canadian residence on the traditional value is seen in the fact that whereas 21 per cent of the short duration subjects indicated that they would object, 32 per cent of the long duration subjects indicated that they would object to such visits. This tendency was found for both men and women.

The item which concerned savings and money stated "I want the kind of marriage in which money is spent for nice things rather than saved." The strength of the traditional commitment to saving is seen in the fact that 83 per cent of the sample disagreed with the statement, 40 per cent expressing strong disagreement. However, younger respondents were more than twice as likely to agree with it than older respondents, the percentages being 23 per cent and 11 per cent. This was true for both men and women. This is not the result of distinctly Canadian influences: such slight response differentials as were found by duration of Canadian residence were in the reverse direction.

Two items dealt with tendencies toward the erosion of traditional strong Italian family solidarity. "In my marriage I want the husband and wife to have freedom to have their own interests and freedom to go on separate vacations." "I would be opposed to separation even if my children suffered from my unhappy marriage." The first statement could only be a matter of principle, rather than of possible practice for most of the subjects in the sample. Their responses indicated that they generally objected to the principle, since 85 per cent disagreed.



There were no noteworthy age or sex differences in responses to this item except that older men were more likely to agree strongly with it (12 per cent). This compares with seven per cent for younger men, four per cent for younger women, and one per cent for older women. Paradoxically, those men who have been a shorter period of time in Canada agreed more often with the statement (20 per cent) than did the longer duration men (13 per cent). Perhaps what is reflected here is something of the old double sexual standard which permitted men to get out and have a good time while their wives stayed home and cared for the children.

Surprisingly, the sample was evenly divided on the issue of the justification of separation in the event of unhappiness. Men objected both more frequently (64 per cent) and more strongly (58 per cent) to separation than did women (41 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively). There were no age differentials in response to this item. For some unexplained reason, although there were no differentials in response by duration of Canadian residence for men, among women, those who had lived in Canada longer objected more to separation (42 per cent) than did those who had been here a shorter time (29 per cent).

In summary, the responses of the Italian sample members to these items which dealt with family roles reflect rather clearly the strength of certain norms and values. Especially prominent are patriarchalism, familism, an emphasis on the woman's responsibility to home and family, and saving of money. In general, these values are affirmed by both sex groups, but each group shows some tendency to claim more of advantages for itself, and to ascribe more of obligations to the other group.



PRIMARY ASSOCIATIONS

There is a wide variation found among sample members in both number and kind of primary or intimate associations. Table VI contains a tabulation of the number of close personal friends mentioned by respondents in answer to the question: "About how many close personal friends do you have?" The mean number was 5.3, and the range was from no close friends, for 24 per cent of the sample, to 17 or more close friends, claimed by 13 per cent of the sample. Half of the sample had three close friends or less. Claiming many close friends—eight or more—was more characteristic of women (35 per cent) than it was of men (21 per cent), while having no close friends was more characteristic of men (28 per cent) than it was of women (19 per cent). Older men tended to have very few or very many close friends.

Subjects were asked to think of their three closest friends and then indicate how many of them were non-Italians. Only 15 per cent of the men, and 10 per cent of the women reported having any close friends who were non-Italian. This percentage was the same for both younger and older women; but among the men, 18 per cent of the younger men reported such friendships as compared with 13 per cent of the older men. When we consider those reporting exclusively non-Italian close friendships, we find that they are reported most often by the younger men and women, and with the same frequency—five per cent. Exclusively Italian friendships are reported most often by older women, in 81 per cent of the cases, followed by younger women in 72 per cent of the cases. Slightly over half, 56 per cent, of both male groups mentioned exclusively Italian friendships.



NUMBER OF CLOSE PERSONAL FRIENDS OF SAMPLE MEMBERS, BY AGE, SEX, AND SEX DURATION, PERCENTAGES ONLY

ı	None	1-3	4-7	8+	Total
Young men	26%	34%	25%	15%	100%
old Men	30	20	25	25	100
oung Women	22	26	19	34	1,00
old Women	16	23.5	24.5	36 .	100
Total	24	26	23	27	100
nort duration men	32	24	28	16	100
ong duration men	24	29	22	25	100
hort duration women	21	24	22	33	100
ong duration women	15	26	22	37	100
Total	24	26	23	27	. 100



When we examine the relationship between duration of Canadian residence and primary associations we discover some strong relation—ships. The more recent arrivals were more likely to report no close friends among both men and women, the percentages reporting no close friends being 32 per cent and 24 per cent for men, and 15 per cent and 9 per cent for women. Although men report more non-Italian friendships than do women, the influence of duration on this variable is stronger than sex. Thus, one or more non-Italian friends is reported by ten per cent of the short duration and 17 per cent of the long duration women.

The major source of difference between men and women is the greater isolation from any close friendships of the men. It is this which accounts for the fact that the sex differences between those reporting exclusively Italian close friendships are as large as they are. These percentages are 58 per cent, 55 per cent, 82 per cent and 74 per cent for younger and older men and women, respectively. The sex differences which are so remarkable here are caused, not by non-Italian friendships being very much more frequent among the men, by by no friendships being more characteristic of the men. However, this is apparently not producing greater feelings of loneliness or isolation in men than women. More men than women disagreed with the statement "sometimes I feel alone in the world," (71 per cent and 67 percent).

One of the problems of the new immigrant is that not only is he called upon to make a number of changes within himself in making the adjustment from the old country to the new country, but he finds himself surrounded by others, some near and dear to him, who are changing in ways different from himself, compromising values which he still holds



sacred. Such changes can be very distressing to the person who witnesses them, and can be very painfully disruptive of his relationships with those seen as compromising sacred principles. To what extent is this source of disruption of intimate relationships found among the members of the sample? Some indication can be gleaned from their responses to the statement: "There are few dependable ties between people any more."

The data show that just two-thirds of the sample agreed with this statement, including 36 per cent who "strongly agreed." The sex difference in response is slight with 62 per cent of the men and 71 per cent of the women agreeing with the statement. There are no noteworthy age-sex, or sex-duration differentials in response to this statement. Thus, it appears that the majority of the sample members have found their relationships with others disturbingly disrupted at times. This is slightly more true of women than of men. But for the duration of Canadian residence, and the age ranges found in this sample there were no differences between the various sub-samples.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDES

As might have been expected virutally the entire sample was Catholic, and the largest proportion of subjects interviewed professed to be both devout and regular in their attendance. Only two in the sample of 418 did not claim Catholic affiliation. Both were men, and one was Protestant whereas the other acknowledge no church identification. Eighty-four per cent were members of the Santa Maria Goretti Church, the beautiful large new Catholic church on the fringe of the area of Catholic concentration in Edmonton, which is served by Italian



priests. The remaining fifteen per cent indicated membership in other, non-Italian Catholic churches in the city. There is a significant relationship between a longer duration of Canadian residency and the tendency to belong to a non-Italian Catholic church. Of the men, seven per cent of those who have resided less than ten years in Canada, and 18 per cent of those in this country for more than ten years, are members of non-Italian churches. For the women, these percentages are 12 and 24 per cent, respectively. It seems surprising that it was among the young men (35 years of age or less) that the incidence of Italian Catholic church membership was highest (92 per cent) and among the older women (those 35 years of age and over) that membership in non-Italian Catholic churches was highest (21 per cent).

In response to the question "How religious would you say that you are?" 204 out of the 412 subjects who answered this question, or 49.5 per cent, said "very" and another 40.5 per cent said "moderately." Eight per cent said "not very" and less than two per cent said "not at all." There is little difference in the response to this question between the four age-sex groups. The incidence of "very religious" responses ranged from a high of 54 per cent for young women, to a low of 44 per cent for young men. It was the older male group which responded either "not very" or "not at all" most often, with a frequency of 17 per cent. Such responses were least characteristic of the young women who made them in six per cent of the cases.

For the men there appears to be some difference in the religiosity of the male short and long Canadian residency groups. Fifty-four per cent of the short duration group reported themselves as "very



religious" whereas only 41 per cent of the longer duration men so described themselves. There were no such differences between the two comparable groups of women. Since we shall see that the men in the sample have much broader contacts with Canadian society than do the women, such evidence of a differential secularization trend is not unexpected.

That the sample members have strong religious interests is likewise shown by their reports of the frequency with which they attend church. Almost half, 48 per cent, reported that they attended church at least once a week, and only eighteen per cent indicated a frequency of three times a year or less. Less than three per cent reported attendance once or no times a year. There were almost no differences between the four age-sex groups. The same group, the older men, most often reported attendance at least once a week (49 per cent) and attendance three times a year or less (22 per cent). Likewise, the same group, the young women, least frequently reported attendance at least once a week (45 per cent) and attendance three times a year or less (16 per cent). Men more often reported more frequent church attendance than women, no doubt because the latter are often kept home by the responsibility of caring for young children.

The same type of pattern as noted above is seen in the relationship betwen duration of Canadian residence and frequency of church attendance. Fifty-four per cent of the short duration men reported they attended church at least once a week, whereas only 44 per cent of the long duration reported this frequency. Again, no such pattern is found for women in the sample. There is slight evidence of a curvilinear



relationship, however. If we look at the frequency of reported attendance more than once a week we find a slight tendency for the longer duration subjects to report higher frequencies than short duration subjects, the percentages being nine and four per cent for men, and twelve and six per cent for women.

The apparent importance of religious values to sample members is substantiated by their responses to another question on the interview schedule. They were asked to indicate their first three choices from a list of nine values ("Making money, politics or community affairs, religious beliefs, respect of others, being well-liked, being highly skilled, being just and honest, family relationships, and maintaining Italian Traditions"). Of the first-choice nominations, 41 per cent of the sample mentioned family relationships, 27 per cent mentioned "being just and honest" and 13 per cent mentioned religious beliefs, with all others mentioned less frequently. Of the second-choice nominations, religious beliefs was most frequently mentioned, by 24 per cent of the sample, followed by "respect of others" with 22 per cent and "making money" and "being just and honest" each with 14 per cent. Thus, it is clear that when religious beliefs and values are pitted against other values the members of our sample accord them an important place.

Again our data show that the longer duration males tend to elect "religious beliefs" as a first— or second—place choice slightly less frequently than do the shorter duration male respondents, the percentages being 25 and 18 per cent respectively. Such differences do not exist for the short and long duration female sub—sample.

The tenacity of Catholic identification among members of the



sample is well shown in that in only one case, the case of the nonbeliever, had the subject changed from the church of his parental
family. In six cases the subject had siblings who had changed churches,
and in an additional six cases, respondents had other, more distant
relatives who had changed churches. Ninety-seven per cent of the sample
were members of families wherein no members of either the grand parental, parental, child or grandchild generations had changed churches.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDES

During the course of the Ikrainian study it was found that the less well-educated respondents were most suspicious, and apparently fearful of answering questions that involved the possibility of criticism of political authorities. Accordingly, we were concerned lest the Italian sample respond in the same way, and too special pains both to try to allay this fear, and to work around it. For example, rather than asking a subject whether he favored the policies of the incumbent party, we gave him a list of possible candidates and asked him which he would vote for, and so discovered his party preference in this way.

It appears from our data that these efforts were largely successful. True, on several questions, our non-response rate is high--over one-third in one case. But on these questions the non-response rate for women is between two and twelve times as high for women as for men. In view of the fact that Italian sex role definitions conventionally ascribe to men responsibility for community participation and political activity, it seems probable that non-response was frequently the result of ignorance of the issues in question, and not fear of repercussions



from going on record regarding political issues.

How important is political involvement to the members of our sample? The answer to this question apprears to be, generally, "not very," especially for women, but to a considerable extent for men as well. Moreover the larger is the political arena, the less the Italian sample member's interest, but his interest increases as this arena becomes more local. The bases for these generalizations follow.

When the sample members were asked to choose between the nine values mentioned above ("making money, politics, or community affairs, religious beliefs, family relationships," etc.) no one gave political affairs a first choice. Eight per cent of the men, and only one per cent of the women gave it a second place nomination.

When asked "How important are Dominion politics to you?" only nine per cent of the sample responded "Very important," and 71 per cent answered either "not very important," or "unimportant," with all but three sample members responding. The corresponding percentage of responses for the same question regarding Provincial politics was 12 per cent "very important," and 69 per cent "not very important," and "unimportant," with four non-respondents. Municipal politics were "very important" for 23 per cent and "not very" or "unimportant" for 58 per cent of the respondents (three non-respondents).

When we examine these responses for sex differences it becomes clear that the involvement of men is far higher than it is for women, and that the involvement of young people is higher than that of older members of the sample. Thirteen per cent of the men, but only five per cent of the women responded "not very" or "unimportant", whereas the figure for men was 64 per cent. Twenty per cent more of the older men



gave "not very" or "unimportant" ratings, than did young men, the percentages being 74 and 54.

However, the data do show that the residents who have resided for a longer period of time in Canada tend to take more of an interest in politics than the shorter term sample members. For the men in the sample, 41 per cent of the long term residents, in contrast to 31 per cent of the short term residents said that Dominion politics were either "fairly important" or "very important" to them. And for the women, these percentages were 30 per cent for the long term residents and 14 per cent for the short term residents. The differentials in rating Dominion politics as unimportant are even more striking. Thirty-eight per cent of the short term residence men gave this response as compared with 22 per cent of the longer residence men. For the women the comparable percentages were even more divergent, 69 per cent as against 44 per cent.

Provincial politics were rated very important by 19 per cent of the men and by four per cent of the women, and "not very" or "unimportant" by 77 per cent of the women and by 60 per cent of the men.

Municipal politics were rated "very important" by 33 per cent of the men and by 12 per cent of the women. It was rated "not very" or "unimportant" by 72 per cent of the women and by 44 per cent of the men.

For both of these last two questions there was a tendency for both younger men and younger women as well to assign ratings of higher importance than did older men and women.

With respect to both Provincial politics and Municipal politics, the longer Canadian residence members of the sample gave higher ratings



than did the shorter residence members. "Unimportant" ratings were assigned by 30 per cent of the short duration men to Provincial politics, and by 22 per cent of the longer duration men. For women, these percentages were 68 and 46 per cent, respectively. With respect to municipal politics, unimportant ratings were assigned by 28 per cent of the brief residency men, and 17 per cent of the longer residency men. For women, these figures were 65 per cent and 38 per cent.

It is noteworthy that the women in the sample, who, in the brief residency groups, show a higher incidence of apathetic political awareness than do compærable men, show a much more dramatic increase in political involvement with longer durations of Canadian residence than do the men.

The non-response rates were highest when subjects were asked their preferences for candidates in the Provincial and Federal governments. On the first of these questions the non-response rate for men was only 13 per cent, but for women it was 47 per cent. Of the male respondents, 40 per cent were in favor of the current Social Credit government of Premier Manning, but 60 per cent were in favor of a change. Of the female respondents, 74 per cent were in favor of continuing the Manning regime. There is no ready explanation for this surprising discrepancy, other than the tendency of uninformed respondents to agree with items. Of the women who did answer this question, perhaps a certain proportion gave uninformed affirmative answers rather than risk seeming ignorant to the interviewer. By why Italian men should be against a regime that has such solid working-class support in Edmonton is equally mystifying.



Non-response to this question was strongly associated with recency of immigration: for male short and long duration sample members the non - response rates were 18 and six per cent, respectively. For the comparable groups of women the non-response rates were 61 per cent and 38 per cent. For those members of the sample who did respond to this item, the data show that longer durations of Canadian residence were associated with more of a tendency to be critical of the Manning government. The percentages of short and long duration male sample members who indicated that they disliked the Manning government were 53 per cent and 65 per cent. For women the differential was very small, but in the same direction, the percentages being 23.8 per cent and 26.2 per cent.

There was clearly more fearfulness in indicating satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the Federal Government in response to the question "Whom do you prefer at the Government: Pearson, Diefenbaker, Doublas, or Thompson." Twenty-four per cent of the men and 53 per cent of the women failed to respond to this question. Of those who did, the incumbent Liberal government of Mr. Pearson, was preferred by the same percentage, 79 per cent, of both men and women. Ten per cent of the sample were in favor of Diefenbaker, nine per cent were in favor of Douglas, and two per cent were in favor of Thompson. There were no remarkable age or sex differences in this set of responses.

Again our data appear to indicate that the more recent arrivals were perhaps more fearful of answering, and more uninformed, than were the longer Canadian residence sample members. The non-response rates to this question were 31 per cent for the brief residency males and 14 per cent for the longer residency males. For female sample members these



percentages were 66 and 40 per cent non-response. Again the data indicate that the longer residency respondents were more critical of the incumbent administration than were the newer arrivals. Eighty-two per cent of the latter males preferred the Pearson Government in contrast to 76 per cent of the former males. For women, the differential, though very small, was in the same direction, the percentages being 83 and 79 per cent.

Despite the apparently low average level of involvement of the sample members in politics, the voting record among those eligible to vote as reported by the sample members, is surprisingly strong. In the last general election, of the 411 who answered this guestion, 293 were not eligible to vote. Of the 118 who were eligible, 102 or 87 per cent reported that they actually did vote; eleven were physically not able to vote because they were ill, etc., three claimed that they could not remember, and only two reported that they willfully did not vote. It is remarkable that there are significant differences in the percentages of each of the four age-sex groups who reported themselves ineligible. The lowest rate, 51 per cent is for older men, followed by younger men, 75 per cent, older women, 76 per cent, and young women, 85 per cent. That these differentials are valid is seen in the fact that the percentage of these four groups which have become naturalized Canadian citizens is 52 per cent for the older men, 30 per cent for the younger men, and 27 per cent for both the younger and older women.

There were, of course, great differences in the proportions of newer and older arrivals in Canada who were eligible to vote. When these differentials were taken into account there were no noteworthy



differences in the proportions of those eligible to vote who actually did vote in the newer and older arrival groups.

When we turn to the percentage of those who voted in the last Provincial election we find a somewhat similar pattern. Of the 400 who answered this question, 230 were not eligible to vote. Of the 170 who were eligible, 100, or 59 per cent, reported that they actually did vote, 44 claimed that they were physically not able to vote, 18 said that they did not remember, and only eight said that they willfully did not vote. The age-sex group differences in ineligibility to vote are comparable with those for voting in the federal election. There is no ready explanation why the incidence of inability to vote, and to remember whether subjects did vote or not should have increased.

With respect to the members of the sample who voted in the last provincial election there were very great differences in the proportions of people in the four sex-duration of Canadian residence sub-samples who were eligible to vote. And yet, when these differences are taken into account there are still differences in the proportion of each sub-group who exercised their right to vote, such that the longer residency group members voted more frequently than did the brief residency groups. For men, the percentages were 71 per cent and 65 per cent. For the women, the differentials were more extreme: 60 per cent and 26 per cent. Here again we see that the more politically apathetic women are making more rapid progress in overcoming their apathy than are the men.

The data available give tus one last insight into the political attitudes of the members of our sample: to what extent do they feel that as new Canadians they have special problems which make it desirable for



them to have special political representation by new Canadians who are familiar with their problems. "Do you think it is important that there be MP's who are new Canadians to defend the interests of new Canadians?" was the question asked our sample members. Of the 388 who gave an unqualified answer to this question, 93 per cent said "yes" and only seven per cent said "no." In general, there was consistency among the different age-sex groups in the response to this question. As above, female non-responses outnumbered male non-responses (three to one). And most interesting of all, it was the group having the highest percentage of eligible voters, the older male group, who answered "yes," most frequently, all except one of them, in fact.

There were some slight differences between the different age—duration groups in their answers to this question, although the proportions of all groups giving an affirmative answer to the question was so high as to make the difference slight. More of the longer duration men gave affirmative answers (96.3 per cent) than brief duration men (91.2 per cent). With the women, the pattern was reversed and the brief duration women more frequently gave affirmative answers (95.3 per cent) than the long duration women (88.9 per cent).

When asked "Have you ever voted for a new Canadian candidate despite the fact that you did not like his party?" only 18 of the 141 eligible voters who answered this question answered "yes." All but four of the 51 non-respondents to this question were women, and 17 out of the 18 who answered "yes" to the question were men. Nineteen per cent of the men who answered this question and were eligible to vote had voted for such a new Canadian candidate, whereas only two per cent of the women who answered this question and were eligible voters had done so. There were no differences between the different age-duration groups in



their answers to this question.

It should be noted that thus far no Italian has run for important political office in Edmonton. On the basis of responses to the last two questions, it seems probable that when Italians are sufficiently confident of their adjustment to Canadian society to begin running for office, they may have as strong an impact on politics as they have had in some American cities, if their numbers should continue to increase as they have in recent years.

ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Since the migration of Italians in strength to Edmonton has come only within the last 12 to 14 years, it might have been expected that the record of associational memberships among members of our sample would be a rather weak one. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, it is clear from material presented in Chapter II that there are very limited opportunities for membership in Italian Canadian organizations, because there are only four such organizations in all. As far as the possibility of joining Canadian organizations is concerned, it seems clear from data cited in Chapter III that most members of the Italian community in Edmonton would have neither the informal contacts with old Canadians, nor the easy fluency in English which are prerequisites to such affiliation. Moreover, Milton Gordon points out in his Book, Assimilation in American Society, that in the United States, at any rate, there has been no general tendency to welcome immigrants into the voluntary associations of "old Stock Americans." Rather the pattern has been to expect the immigrant to become acculturated by adopting the



dominant culture, but that integration into organizations and associations has come much more slowly, often only after groups have become sufficiently assimilated to have lost their ethnic identity. There is, as yet, no basis for expecting that the pattern in Canada will be any different from this familiar American one.

When we examine the data, however, they are somewhat surprising. Of the 417 sample members who answered the question "To what organizations or associations do you belong?" only 109, 26 per cent, belonged to any. There were, however, wide and somewhat unexpected sex differences: men, of course belonged much more frequently than did women, but the young men reported belonging more frequently than the older men, the rates being 48 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively. The older women belonged slightly more often than did younger women, their rates being 12 and 10 per cent, respectively. Forty-one of these organizational memberships were in labor union organizations, where the motivation to join may have been involuntary. When these are omitted from consideration, the incidence of membership among young men still exceeds that among older men, 27 per cent to 23 per cent. Eight per cent of the young women belonged to non-union organizations, and seven per cent of the older women belonged.

Considering just these non-union organizations, most association members, 45 out of the 68 members in the sample belonged only to Italian Canadian organizations; seventeen belonged only to Canadian organizations, and six people belonged to both. The pattern of memberships in Italian organizations is similar to the pattern of memberships in all organizations. Italian organization membership rates were 22 per cent



for young men, seventeen per cent for older men, and five per cent each for the two women's groups. There was a much less extreme sex discrepancy in memberships in Canadian organizations, as might be expected from the greater emphasis on male-female equalitarianism in Canadian society. Rates of membership in Canadian organizations were eight per cent for young men, nine per cent for older men, four per cent for younger women and two per cent for older women.

Sample members participated much more actively in Italian

Canadian organizations than they did in Canadian organizations. In the former type, of the 51 members, 26 per cent held or had held offices;

51 per cent attended at least half of the meetings, and 20 per cent attended less than half the meetings. Of the 24 members of Canadian organizations, only four, 17 per cent, were, or had been, officers and the remaining ten were evenly spit between active and inactive members. Only three of the thirteen people who had been officers in Italian organizations were women, but half of those who had been officers in Canadian organizations were women, again reflecting the greater equalitarianism noted above.

There are interesting differences in membership and participation in organizations between the different sex-duration groups as well, as Table VII shows. The figures for total association memberships show that there is a tendency for the longer duration Canadian residence to more frequently belong to associations than for the brief duration sample members. But a more close examination shows that this is primarily because this pattern is true of the memberships in Italian associations, to which 14 per cent of the short duration men and 24 per cent of the



TABLE : VII

MENBERSHIP IN VARIOUS TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS OF SAMPLE MEMBERS BY SEX AND DURATION OF CAMADIAN RESIDENCE

		Total	Shor	t Male	Long	DURATION Male		Female	Ono	Female
	No.	No. %	No	No. %	No. %	%	No	No. %	No.	No. %
Total Association Wemberships	109	. 797	39	37%	48	43%	9	%9	16	16%
Union memberships	34	co .	14	13	14	13	ო	m	က	თ
Total Non-union English Association memberships	24	9	10	10	ω	ω	Н	П	Ŋ	ಬ
Total Italian association memberships	51	12	15	14	26	24	N	Ø	Ø	7
Total Non-members	307	74	65	63	09	57	66	94	83	84
Total Samplea	416	100	104	100	108	100	105	100	66	100
								CATALOGUE CONTRACTOR C	And the second s	Significant research against state of the object state of the obje

^aTwo sample members could not be classified by duration of residence in Canada.



long duration men belong, and two per cent of the short duration and seven per cent of the long duration women belong.

There are no differences between the sex-duration sub-samples in frequency of union memberships. A rather surprising finding is that the brief duration men belong to English non-union organizations slightly more frequently than do the longer duration sample members, the percentages being 10 and eight per cent. Among the women, the membership in English non-union organizations was very infrequent, but it was more characteristic of the long duration women (5 per cent) than it was of the brief duration women (1 per cent).

The differences in kinds of participation in these associations between the sex-duration sub-samples are slight. In the Italian association memberships, there were no differences between duration groups for men or for women. In the English non-union associations the short duration men were more often officers or frequent in attendance at meetings (7 per cent of this sub-group) than were the longer duration men (3 per cent of the sub-groups).

MASS MEDIA--EXPOSURE AND USE

In this section we shall consider data on exposure of members of the sample to newspapers, magazines, and television. Little can be said, however, about the consequences of this exposure.

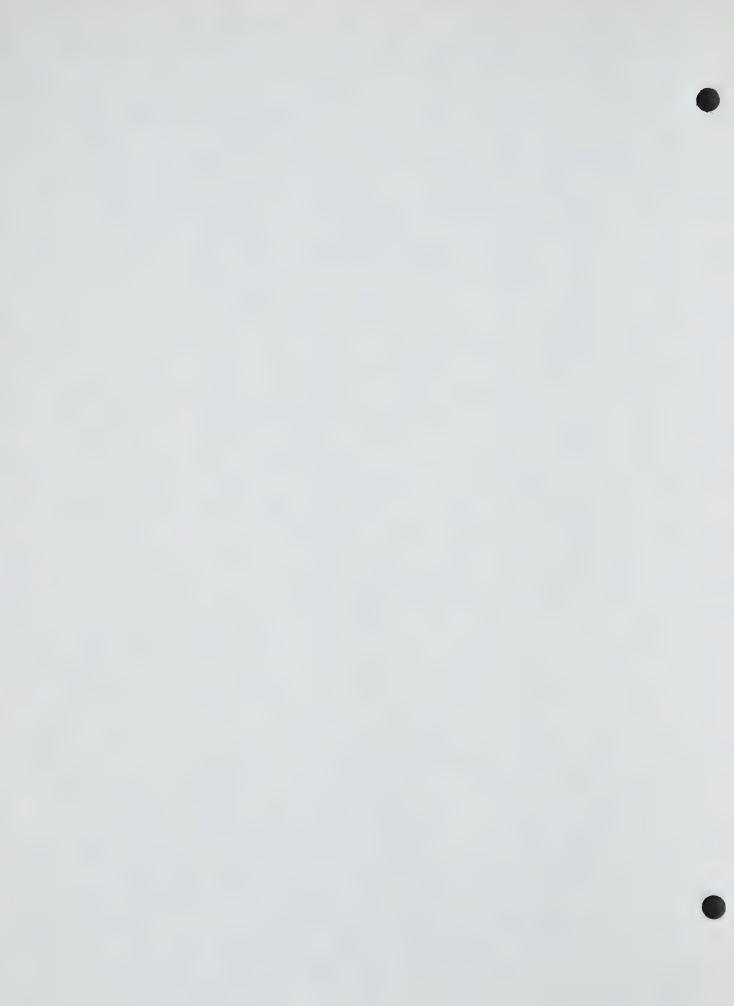
4.1. Television. Of these three mass media, the one most extensively encountered by the sample members was television, with magazines lagging far behind in second place and newspapers in third place. Ninety-five per cent of the sample members owned or had easy access to a television set, and the reported time spent watching television was heavy. The most



frequently recorded exposure to television was eleven to twenty hours per week, reported by one-third of television viewers in the sample. Thirty-eight per cent of the sample reported watching ten hours a week or less, and 24 per cent reported watching twenty-one hours a week or more, with the heaviest viewing reported as 70 hours per week. These exposure rates were approximately the same for the different age-sex groups, with women reporting slightly heavier viewing times than men, although nine of the twelve people reporting weekly viewing in excess of 40 hours per week were men.

There were some sex-duration group differences in frequency of television viewing. Six per cent fewer of the short duration men and women have access to a television set than do the longer duration sample members, but for all four sub-groups, the proportions having access were over 90 per cent. The more recently arrived men reported spending more time watching television than did the longer duration group, the percentages watching more than 20 hours per week being 37 and 23 per cent. The same trend but in a weaker form was seen among the women, where only 32 per cent of the short duration group watched ten hours a week or less, and 43 per cent of the longer duration group did.

Of the seven categories of types of programs into which choices were coded, educational programs (including documentary, news, weather, etc.), slapstick comedy (Flintstones, Yogi Bear), Comic Brama (I Love Lucy), Religious, Musical (Lawrence Welk Show), Sports, Variety and Quiz shows, by far the most popular were the comic drama shows. These were chosen as one of several favorites by half of the sample. The next most popular were the variety and quiz shows, chosen by one-third of the sample.



The slapstick comedy, educational, musical, and sports programs all were mentioned by fifteen per cent of the sample. None listed religious programs as favorites.

There were decided differences in the ability of the different age-sex groups to list favorite programs. Over 55 per cent of the women (54 per cent of the younger women and 63 per cent of the older women) who did describe themselves as television viewers were able to list no favorite programs. These differences probably reflect the fact that many of the women do not have sufficiently good English facility to identify programs, or perhaps to follow the content of the programs closely enough to have favorite programs. At any rate our data seem to suggest this since, of the 359 reporting parents in our sample, 84 per cent of the mothers speak only Italian to their children, whereas only 65 per cent of the fathers speak only Italian to them. Similarly it will be recalled that 42 per cent of the men in the sample are naturalized Canadians, but only 27 per cent of the women are. The probable reasons for this discrepancy is the English language facility requirement for citizenship which effectively disbars women who do not have the opportunities to get out of the home and learn English that the men do.

It is further noteworthy that the older men were less frequently able to list favorite programs (33 per cent were not) than younger men (10 per cent). The reasons for this can only be guessed at since our evidence suggests that the older men probably had somewhat better English facility than did the younger men. It seems probable that those who were not able to list favorite programs tended to watch television merely for distraction, frequently not following the significance of the program.



The result of these reporting discrepancies is that it is always the young men who most frequently mentioned all kinds of programs as favorites, followed by the older men, followed by the women. The comic drama programs, for example, were listed as favorites by 78 per cent of the young men, 54 per cent of the older men, and by 43 per cent and 25 per cent of the younger and older women respectively. For the variety and quiz shows, these proportions were 62, 36, 21, and 17 per cent, respectively, and for educational programs they were 27, 21, five and six per cent, respectively. It is significant in this context that the only type of program which was elected with the same frequency by all four age-sex groups, 15 per cent, was the slapstick comedy programs, where the action is so broad and obvious that there is little need for English language facility to be able to follow the program.

There were slight differences in ability to list favorite programs between the different sex-duration groups. The short duration men were more often able (77 per cent) than were the longer duration men (72 per cent) as one might expect from their greater television exposure. However, the short duration women were less able (37 per cent) than were the longer duration women (45 per cent), perhaps because their lack of English facility caused them to watch television more for distraction than to follow the content.

The few differences found between the sex duration groups in listing of favorite programs do not fall into any pattern. The longer duration women mentioned slapstick comedy programs more often than did the short duration women (18 and 10 per cent). Short duration men mentioned dramatic comedy programs more often than did the longer



duration men (68 and 59 per cent) and with women the relationship was reversed (39 and 30 per cent). Short duration men more often mentioned musical programs than did longer duration men (24 and 14 per cent).

The significance of this kind of television viewing is difficult to anticipate; it is clear that all four age-sex groups spend a great deal of time watching television, and that it is the mass media form most commonly encountered by the sample members. In a later chapter we shall try to get some clues as to its significance.

Magazines and Newspapers. Magazines and newspapers are both seen by less than half of the sample, the percentage being 43 per cent in each case. However, whereas Italian magazines are more popular than English magazines, it is English newspapers which are the more popular. The percentages are as follows: Italian magazines are read by 28 per cent of the sample and English ones by 18 per cent; English newspapers are seen by 29 per cent of the sample and Italian ones by 17 per cent. This reversal is not doubt accounted for by the fact that since no Italian newspaper is published within 500 miles of Edmonton (the closest one, a relatively unpopular one at that, is published in Vancouver), Italian papers which are outdated upon arrival, cannot compete with English papers. Because the contents of magazines are less "perishable," the preference of most members of the sample for an Italian-language medium can assert itself. Only a very small proportion of the sample see both Italian and English publications, seven per cent in the case of newspapers, and six per cent in the case of magazines.

When these figures are broken down by age-sex sub-groups as found in Table VIII some interesting patterns become apparent. It seems



TABLE VIII

READING OF ITALIAN AND ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES BY SEX, AGE,
AND DURATION, PERCENTAGES ONLY

	MAC	GAZINES	T4-12	NEWS	PAPERS	
	Italian	English	Italian & English	Italian	English	Italian & English
Age-Sex						
Total Sample	28%	. 18%	6.3%	17%	29%	6.7%
All male	23	23	8.0	24	41	12.0
All female	33	12	4.0	10	16	2.0
Young men	27	26	9.0	21	55	15.0
Old men	20	20	7.0	26	30	9.0
Young women	34	18	7.0	9	19	2.0
Old women	31	′ 7	2.0	12	14	2.0
Duration						
Male short	27	22	9.0	29	32	12.0
Male long	21	3 2	8.0	18	50	11.0
Female short	34	5	4.0	9	5	2.0
Female long	29	19	5.0	12	25	2.0



clear that the most important of the media cited in the table is probably the English newspaper which is seen by 41 per cent of the men, who are the most influential members of Italian families. Moreover, it is seen by 16 per cent of the women which exceeds their readership of Italian newspapers (10 per cent).

English and Italian magazines are seen by the same percentage of men--27 per cent of the young men and 20 per cent of the older men.

But among the young women, Italian magazines are twice as popular as are English ones and among older women the former are more than four times as popular as the latter.

Without exception there are consistent differences in the incidence of reading Italian and English newspapers and magazines, between the different sex-duration groups. With only one exception these differences involve greater readership of the Italian materials by the brief Canadian residency groups, and greater readership of the English materials by the longer Canadian residency groups, as Table IX shows. The one exception is that Italian papers are read more frquently by longer duration women than they are by shorter duration women; the percentages are nine and twelve per cent, respectively. It seems probable that this slight differential may result because the longer duration group may have more leisure time in which to read, and their lack of English fluency causes them to choose Italian rather than English newspapers.

Despite their relatively meager readership it may be revealing to consider the kinds of magazines which are popular with our sample members. The most popular of the English magazines among those members



TABLE IX

SOURCES OF INFORMATION CITED BY SAMPLE MEMBERS BY SOURCE AND BY AGE-SEX AND SEX-DURATION GROUPS, PERCENTAGES ONLY

	Total	Male	Female	Young	01d Men	Young	01d Women	Men Short	Men Long	Women	Womeh
Radio	20%	40%	%09	44%	36%	21%	63%	38%	44%	61%	58%
Notion pictures	∞	11	49	10	13	9	ന	16	9	. W	9
Other people	47	50	43	46	55	44	43	50	20	46	41
School	14	19	0	22	15	11	∞	19	17	10	0
Television	53	50	56	52.	49	51	09	49	52	46	65
Magazines	9	ന	œ	က	4	0	∞	2	9	ω	7
Church	20	24	15	24	24	13	18	27	21	15	16
Books	0	14	က	17	11	4	က	15	12	ന	ന
Newspapers	37	40	35	46	34	36	34	31	48	26	42
Personal Experience	12	20	4	21	19	9	က	56	19	9	m
Other members of family	17	12	22	2	19	22	23	16	ω	200	17
The second secon											



of the sample who read them were the mass circulation magazines such as <u>Life</u>, <u>Readers' Digest</u>, <u>MacLeans</u>, etc., which were mentioned by 45 per cent of all claiming English magazine readership. The second! most popular were the news magazines with a 22 per cent readership, and the third were the women's and homemagazines, mentioned by eleven per cent. Sports and men's magazines, and screen romance magazines were mentioned by only five per cent and four per cent, respectively. There were no noteworthy differences between the age-sex, and the sex-duration groups in these data.

The significance of the kinds of mass media exposure that we have been describing are difficult to evaluate, in terms of the effects that they may have on the attitudes, feelings, values and life goals of the sample members. There is, at this level of analysis of the data, just one question in the interview schedule which may give us some insight into the respondents' perceptions of the informational significance of the mass media considered above. Subjects were asked which of the following list were the three most important ways in which people find out about things: radio, school, television, church, talking with people you know, magazines, personal experience, newspapers, films, family, books.

The data found in Table IX show that the sample members report that they depend both on personal contacts and on the mass media as sources of information, and that the latter are the more frequently cited. Television, mentioned by 53 per cent of the 413 who answered this question, and radio, mentioned by 50 per cent, outran "other people" mentioned by 43 per cent and relatives, mentioned by 17 per cent.



Newspapers, 37 per cent, were more frequently cited than church which was mentioned by 20 per cent. Other frequencies, in descending order, were school, 14 per cent, personal experience, 12 per cent, books, nine per cent, motion pictures, 8 per cent, and magazines, 6 per cent.

The age-sex breakdown in this table implies dramatically the social isolation of the Italian women. Despite their less adequate mastery of English the data indicate that they depend more heavily on the mass media as sources of information than do the men and depend less on personal sources of information except for "relatives" which young men cited very infrequently--only 5 per cent--and which women cited about twice as often as men. For example, the percentages citing "other people" are 50 per cent for the men, and 43 per cent for the women; citing "church" are 24 per cent and 15 per cent, and citing personal experience are 20 per cent and 4 per cent, respectively. On the other hand, women cited "radio" in 60 per cent of the cases and men in only 40 per cent of the cases. The percentages of women and men citing television were 50 per cent and 56 per cent. Even newspapers were cited almost as frequently by women (35 per cent), as by men (40 per cent), despite the differences in English literacy between the two groups, although men much more frequently cited books. Young men cited school, books, newspapers, and personal experience, more frequently than the other three. This indicates some rather interesting peculiarities of their relationship to the world in contrast to that of the other are-sex groups. Young women cited church less often than any other group, suggesting the extent to which their children impede their churchj attendance. Old women cited radio, television, and relatives more often, and other people, personal experience, motion pictures, books,



and school, less frequently than any other group—again suggesting the social isolation of this group. One gets the impression that Italian women's experience of the outside world is heavily mediated through the mass media and through relatives.

There are some rather interesting differences between the different sex-duration groups in the frequencies with which different sources of information were cited. Most striking are the greater dependency by longer duration men and women on newspapers than by the short duration groups. Short duration men and women, on the other hand, depend much more heavily on their fellow family members than do the longer duration groups. Short duration men, and to a lesser extent women, depend more on personal experience than do their longer duration counterparts. These men depend slightly more on church and on films than do long duration men. Long duration women depend much more heavily on television, than to short duration women.

The picture which has emerged provides us with little immediate evidence as to the acculturational significance of the mass media. It is clear that the usage of the mass media, particularly in terms of sources of information, tends to change as the duration of Canadian residency tends to increase. It is clearly paradoxical that the age group which is perhaps least likely to respond to acculturation influences, the older women, depends most heavily on the mass media; whereas the group which is probably the most responsive to these influences is least dependent on the more powerful television and radio media. We may anticipate the development of a later chapter by suggesting that acculturation proceeds most rapidly in those cases where people have



personal relationships with people which tend to promote acculturation, and mass media exposure as well.

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

Sample subjects were asked "What kinds of things do you do in your spare time" and their responses were coded as follows: no free time or no response; visit and spend time with family and friends; relax, rest and sleep; housekeeping and house maintenance activities; read, study, write letters; handicrafts and playing music; drinking alone or with others, dancing, playing cards, sports participation, fishing and hobbies; television, radio, motion pictures, organizations and community work. Of the 35 people who either failed to respond to this item, or responded that they had no free time, 31 were women, and only 4 were men.

The data found in Table X show that the three most common activities are visiting (24 per cent of the 383 who did specify leisure time activities), housekeeping and house maintenance activities, (24 per cent), and television, radio, and movies, 22 per cent. Other activities mentioned, in order of decreasing frequency, were: reading and studying, danding, cards, hobbies, sports; handicrafts, and sleeping. Only one person mentioned drinking as a first choice, and none mentioned organizations and community work. But the data cited in this form, mask striking sex differences. "Visiting" was mentioned as a first listing by 32 per cent of the men and by only 13 per cent of the women, and it was mentioned as one of the top three leisure activities by 55 per cent of the men but only 21 per cent of the women. On the other hand, home maintenance activities were mentioned first by



TABLE X

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIS MENTIONED FIRST BY AGE-SEX AND SEX-DURATION GROUPS, PERCENTAGES ONLY

Wisit family, friends 24% 32% 13% 27% 38% 17% 9% 31% 34% 15% 11% Relax, Rest, sleep 1.6 2 1 3 0 2 1 3 1 - Housekeeping & house main.24 8 42 8 8 34 50 6 11 40 45 Read, study, write letters16 15 17 15 15 24 10 18 13 18 14 Handicrafts, music 2 3 0 2 4 0 0 4 2 0 0 Drinking alone or with others 3 5 0 1 0		Total	Male	Female	Young Men	Old Men	Young Women	Old Women	,	Men Short	Men	Wenen	Women Long
.6 2 1 1 3 0 2 1 3 1 8 8 8 34 50 6 11 40 15 17 15 15 24 10 18 13 18 3 0 2 4 0 0 4 2 0 5 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 2 20 1 28 12 0 2 19 20 1 20 26 18 20 26 26 26 26 20 18 25 1 15 .5 1 14 16 1 1 15 .5	Visit family, friends	24%	32%	13%	27%	38%	17%	%	· .	31%	34%	15%	11%
8 42 8 8 34 50 6 11 40 15 17 15 15 24 10 18 13 18 3 0 2 4 0 0 4 2 0 5 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 2 20 1 28 12 0 2 19 20 1 20 26 18 20 26 26 26 18 25 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 15 .5 1 14 16 1 1 15	Relax, Rest, sleep	1.6	2	-	~	က	0	7	:	-	က	· —	
15 17 15 15 24 10 18 13 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18	Housekeeping & house mai	in.24	∞	42	ω	∞	34	50		9	11	40	45
3 0 2 4 0 0 4 2 0 5 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 2 20 1 28 12 0 2 19 20 1 2 20 26 18 20 26 26 20 18 25 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 15 .5 1 14 16 11 11 15	Read, study, write lette	ers16	15	17	15	15	24	10		18	13	18	14
3 5 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Handicrafts, music	2	က	0	2	4	0	0	,	4	2	0	0
3 5 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Drinking alone or with												
11.2 20 1 28 12 0 2 19 20 1 22 20 26 26 26 20 18 25 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 8 1 15 .5 1 14 16 11 1 15	others	က	5	0	~	0	0			0	0	0	0
11.2 20 1 28 12 0 2 19 20 1 22 20 26 18 20 26 26 20 18 25 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 8 1 15 .5 1 14 16 1 11 15	Hobby, dancing, fishing,												
22 20 26 18 20 26 26 20 18 25 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	cards, sports parti.	11.2	20	-	28	12	0	2	٠.	19	50	-	
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	TV, radio, movies	22	20	. 56	18	20	26	26		20	18	25	29
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Organizations, Commu-												
8 1 15 .5 1 14 16 1 1 15	nity work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0
	No free time	ω	_	15	٠. 5	~	14	16		1	٦	15	15



42 per cent of the women and by only 8 per cent of the men. Almost half--46 per cent--mentioned it as among the first three, but only 17 per cent of the men did so. The other major discrepancy between the listings of men and women related to the "dancing, cards, hobby" category, mentioned first by 20 per cent of the men but by only one per cent of the women. The television, radio and movies category was mentioned slightly more frequently by women (26 per cent) than by men (20 per cent).

When we examine this picture for age and sex differences we find that older men visit more than younger men, but that younger women visit more than older women. Housekeeping activities were more often mentioned by older women as leisure time activities than by younger women, but the latter mentioned reading and writing letters more than the former. Young men mentioned "dancing, cards, hobby, sports" more often in first place than did older men.

These data are consistent with others cited above which suggest that women are far more closely tied to the home than are the men, thus more dependent on the mass media and less on personal contacts. The data also seem to imply the greater integration of young men into Canadian society than any other age-sex group. The visiting of the older men and the letter writing of the young women is definitely more Italian community oriented, and the extensive housekeeping activities of the women, especially the older women is definitely family oriented. The young men least often mentioned the passive, television, movies, leisure activities, but they most often mentioned the active, dancing, hobbies, cards, sports participation category.



The data in Table X show that the differences between sex-duration groups in leisure time activities are minimal. There is little evidence that duration of Canadian residence has any different effect on men than it does on women. There is a slight tendency for both men and women in the longer duration group to mention housekeeping and maintenance activity more frequently than those in the short duration groups. Similarly, both mention reading and writing letters slightly less than do those in the short duration groups. Long duration women mention television, radio, and motion pictures slightly more frequently than do those in the short duration group.

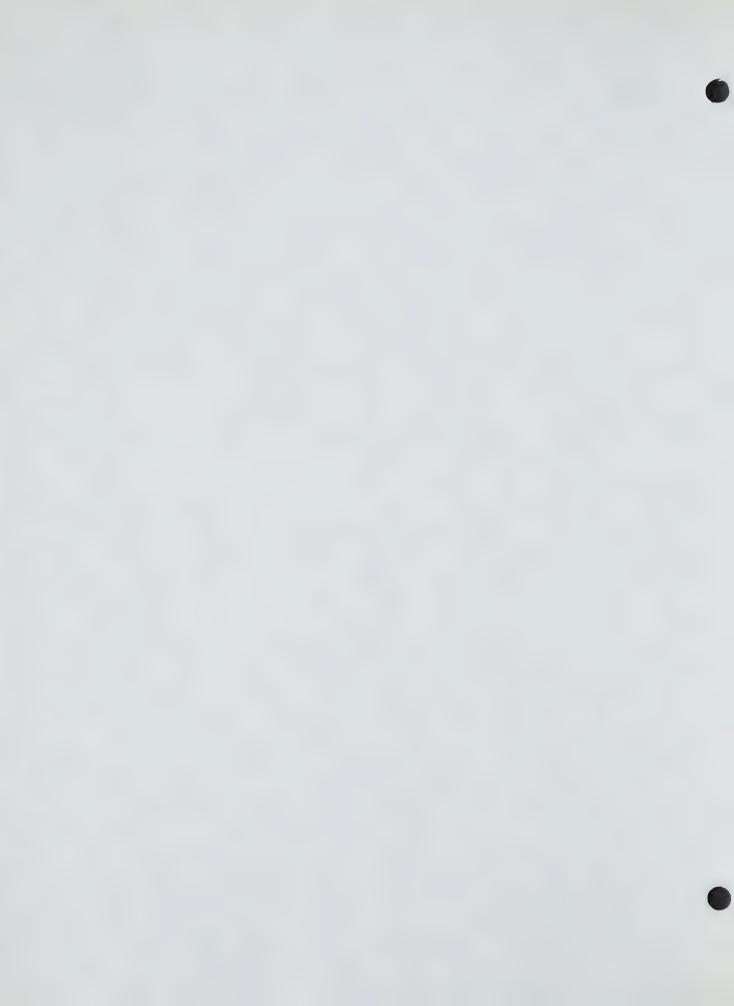
VALUES AND ORIENTATIONS TO LIFE

There were two items on the interview schedule which related directly to the area of values and orientations to life. The first asked, "If you had to decide which of the things listed on this card was the most important to you, which would it be?" The list included: family relationships, making money, politics or community affairs, religious beliefs, respect of others, being well-liked, being highly skilled in what I do, being a just and honest person, leisure time activities such as hunting, fishing, reading or relaxing, and maintaining Italian traditions." The second question asked was: "If you had your choice, would you most like to be (a) successful, (b) independent, (c) well-liked."

Responses to the first question are found in Table XI, classified by age-sex groups. The total responses to the first question were ranked as follows: family relationships, 40 per cent-being just and honest, 27 per cent-religious beliefs, 13 per cent-having the respect

VALUES RATED FIRST BY SAMPLE MEMBERS BY AGE-SEX GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES TABLE XI

		Total	Male Total	Female Total	Young	Old Wen	Young Women	Old Women
Family Relationships	z %	161	78	83	30	48	31	52 52
Making money	Z >6	17	11	\(\text{o} \) \(\text{m} \)	9 9	rv 4	വവ	
Politics, community	. z %	0	0	0 0	0	0	0	0
Religious beliefs	< z %	52	04	43	9 9	ຕ່ ຕ	25 25	18
Respect of others	22 >9	30	18	12	7	111	m m	00
Being well liked	Z %	~ ~		4 0	20		00	пп
Being highly skilled	z %	26	19	7 4	12	7 9	4 4	നന
Being just & honest	2%	109	67	42	ლ ლ ლ	34	28	4 4 4
Leisure time	z %	m	2 -	ц . ?	~ ~			00
Maintaining Italian Trad.	Z %	2 .		1.05	group group	00		00
TOTALS	Z %	407	208	199	98	110	100	99



of others--7 per cent-being highly skilled in what I do, 6 per cent.

Only four per cent of the 407 sample members who responded to this item said "making money" was most important, and "being well liked," "leisure time activities" and "maintaining Italian traditions" ranked lower yet, in that order. The strongest single sex difference was that "religious beliefs" was listed first by 22 per cent of the women but by only four per cent of the men, and "being just and honest" was listed first by 32 per cent of the men but by only 21 per cent of the women. Women listed family relationships first, a little more frequently than did men; men listed "being highly skilled" more frequently than women did.

Both older men and women ranked family relationships more highly than did younger men and women, and young men ranked being highly skilled more highly than did older men.

There are two rather interesting differences in the value choices between the short and long duration groups, as the data in Table XII show. The experience of living in Canada appears to affect men and women differently in terms of their appreciation of the value of family relationships; men in the long duration group de-emphasize their importance in contrast to short duration men (32 per cent and 41 per cent), whereas longer duration women tend to rank them more highly than do short duration women (50 per cent and 37 per cent). Among women, longer duration of Canadian residence apparently results in a de-emphasis of the justice and honesty values, from 30 per cent for short duration women to 13 per cent for the longer duration women.

The non-emphasis on monetary values which these responses indicate is corroborated by the responses to the second question, involving a choice between three values as seen in Table XIII. Comments of observers



TABLE XII

VALUES HELD AS MOST IMPORTANT BY SEX-DURATION GROUPS, WITH FUPCENTAGES

405 100.0 105 100.0 108 100.0 97 100.0 95 100.0



CHOICE BETWEEN THREE VALUES BY AGE-SEX GROUPINGS, WITH PERCENTAGES TABLE XIII

		Total	Male Total	Female Total	Young	Older Men	Young Women	Older Women
Independent	z %	109	49	60	18	31.	33	27 31
Successful	z %	70	35	35 18	17	18	23	12
Well liked	z %	2 15 54	123	92	64	55	4 4 3 8 8 9 8 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	49 56
Totals	z %	394	207	187	100	108	99 .	88
en der syn der der der der der der gereiere datum zur eit det kreinen der			And the second of the second o	e de l'ambient de l L'ambient de l'ambient d	retationing is agreement to differ in the language of the control		Alle Alle Alle Alle Alle Alle Alle Alle	The same of the sa



of the Italian community had led us to expect that "successful" would be the most frequently chosen goal. Instead, it was the least frequent, elected by only 18 per cent of the 394 sample members who answered this item. The most frequently chosen goal was "well liked," chosen by 54 per cent of the sample, and the second place choice was "independent, with a 28 per cent vote. Nineteen of the 24 sample members who did not answer this question were women, 15 of them older women, reflecting perhaps their lack of experience in thinking about abstract issues such as the question posed. Men tended to choose "being well liked" first, slightly more frequently than did women, and the latter chose "independent" slightly more frequently than did the former. Young women selected "being well liked" most frequently (65 per cent), and young men selected it least frequently (43 per cent). These rank positions were reversed with respect to "independent;" young men cited it only 18 per cent of the time as compared with 33 per cent for the young women. "Successful" was mentioned most often by young women and least often by older women.

For both men and women, there is an increase in the extent to which independence is valued, from 20 per cent for short duration men to 28 per cent for those in the longer duration group and from 28 per cent for short duration women to 35 per cent for long duration women. The extent to which "being well liked" is valued declines correspondingly, for men and women.

This ranking of materialistic values can also be checked by looking at the pattern of responses to the "Protestant Ethic" items.

Three items are relevant: "If you had a great deal of money would you



work as much as you do now?" "Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work now and then if there is something else he would rather do?" "If you had a choice of taking a paid vacation or working during that time and getting paid extra, would you take the vacation?" The responses to these items indicate the extent to which working as a value and thus perhaps success striving, has been internalized by the sample members. In response to the last item, for example, only 23 per cent of the respondents said that they would take the vacation.

Only 28 per cent felt that it was all right for a man to take off from work occasionally when there was something he would rather do. And even if they owned "a great deal of money" 40 per cent would still expect to work as hard as they currently do. The responses to these items indicate that work and success striving is a high priority value with our subjects.

A final basis of insight into the value identifications of the members of our sample is found in their responses to the question:

"What was your main reason for buying this particular house, or which would influence you most if you were to buy a house? a. price of the house, b. relatives living close by. c. there are other Italians in the neighborhood, d. it is close to good schools, e. there are not other Italians in the neighborhood, f. there are no relatives living close by, g. fashionable neighborhood, h. quiet neighborhood with little traffic, g. convenient to work, town and/or shopping."

The answers to this question, found in Table XIV, show that a materialistic consideration is the one most frequently listed, by over one-fourth of the respondents, and good schools are mentioned by an almost equal number. Other Italians in the neighborhood were mentioned by 16 per



TABLE XIV

CRITERIA MENTIONED FOR BUYING A HOUSE BY AGE-SEX GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES

			Men	_	Mon ,	Women	7	Young	0	70	Young	mg	0	01d	
	I	. O	To		Total	ر ب		Men	;	Men	Women	len	WC	men	
	NO.	2	NO	No. %	NO.	8	No.	8	No.	%	No.	8	No.	8	
Price of house	92	56	43	22	52	32	22	24	21	20	24	28	28	800	
Relatives, friends near	21	9	5	m	16	10	4	49	-	~-1	T	13	5	7	
Other Italians near	26	16	44	22	12	7	16	17	28	27	. 7	∞	ಬ.	7	
Good schools near	93	26	64	24	45	28	23	25	25	24	24	28	21	28	Ψ,
No Italians near	35	10	25	13	10	. 9	14	15		e H	∞	6	N	က	
No relatives near															
Fashionable neighborhood	32	0	15	ω ′	17	10	r-1 r-1	12	4	4	∞	0	0	12	
Quiet neighborhood	7	N	m	2	4	m	Н		N	0	-	~	n	4	
Close to work, town;	19	Ω	13	7	9	4	7	2	11		4	2	7	ന	
Totals	350	100	100 196 100 162 100	100	162	100	63	100	103	100	87	100	75	100	



cent, no Italians in the neighborhood was specified by 10 per cent, a fashionable neighborhood by 9 per cent, and relatives or friends nearby was mentioned by only 6 per cent. The sex differences in the data are interesting and surprising; almost half again as many women as men mentioned the cost of the house, whereas over three times as many men as women mentioned "other Italians nearby." Expectedly, women did mention good schools and friends and relatives nearby more frequently than men.

The effect of increased duration of Canadian residence on subjects' responses to this item operates differently for men and women. Among longer duration men there tends to be a de-emphasis on the importance of good schools--from 29 per cent to 20 per cent, and an increasing emphasis on the importance of convenience, from 2 per cent to 12 per cent. Among long duration women there tends to be a de-emphasis on the price of the house, from 37 per cent to 28 per cent, and an increasing emphasis on the importance of good schools, from 23 per cent to 33 per cent.

How much these data should be seen as contradicting those cited above is difficult to say. It is clear, however, that access to relatives, friends, and other Italians is not apre-eminent value—at least in the purchase of a home.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

What can we say about sample members in terms of their personality or psychological characteristics? A rather large number of items were included in the interview schedule which were designed to provide us with an answer to this question. As we pointed out in Chapter I, most



these scales have not been used on a large sample of Italian subjects before, to our knowledge, there does not exist a set of appropriate norms for use in the evaluation of our data. Moreover, since in most cases the items which were used in the interview schedule were only a part of the scale from which they were selected, it is impossible to compare the mean scores obtained in this study with means published from other studies in which these scales have been used.

As was also pointed out in Chapter I, these items had to be translated into Italian, and then the questionnaires were used with subjects from at least three distinct dialectic families of Italian, many of whom had rather low levels of education and general sophistication. The result is that the data from these questions are of uncertain reliability. It should be further noted, however, that the general pattern of the data are in accord with that from the Ukrainian study, which also interviewed a largely peasant population. Thus, despite these reasons for caution, given above, there are bases for some degree of confidence in the data which are cited below.

There are two usages to which the scale scores can be put. The first is that this same series of scales and sub-scales has been used with another immigrant sample in Alberta, a Ukrainian immigrant sample. It must be noted that in more than half of the cases, a Ukrainian translation of the interview schedule was used; thus there are serious questions about the comparability of meaning of the items to which Italian subjects and Ukrainian subjects responded. But these comparison data are better than none at all. The second usage is that comparisons



between sub-samples within the total Italian sample may be made. This is useful in gaining some understanding about the characteristics of various age-sex and sex-duration of Canadian residence groups.

There are three different types of data available. The first deals most narrowly with subjects' psychological characteristics. There are sub-scale scores which are designed to measure neroticism, dogmatism, dominating tendencies and extraversion. The second deals with psychological reactions to the Canadian situation. The anomie scale

purports to measure the extent to which subjects experience feelings of value confustion, as a result of their migration to Canada. The alienation scale² attempts to measure the extent to which subjects feel powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation as a result of their

move to Canada.

The third seeks to discover the nature of their continuing reaction to Italy and to Italian culture. Here there are two indices. The first deals with Italian chauvinism, and the second deals with subjects' tendencies to be rejecting of Italians and of Italianisms. The final measure, the Protestant Ethic score, is reflective of subjects' motivations and work habits.

The reader should note that this grouping of scale scores is somewhat arbitrary and of questionable validity. Many of the scores available,

Leo Srole, Social integration and certain corollaries: an exploratory study, American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), pp. 709-716.

²Dwight G. Dean, Alienation: its meaning and measurement, American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), pp. 753-758.



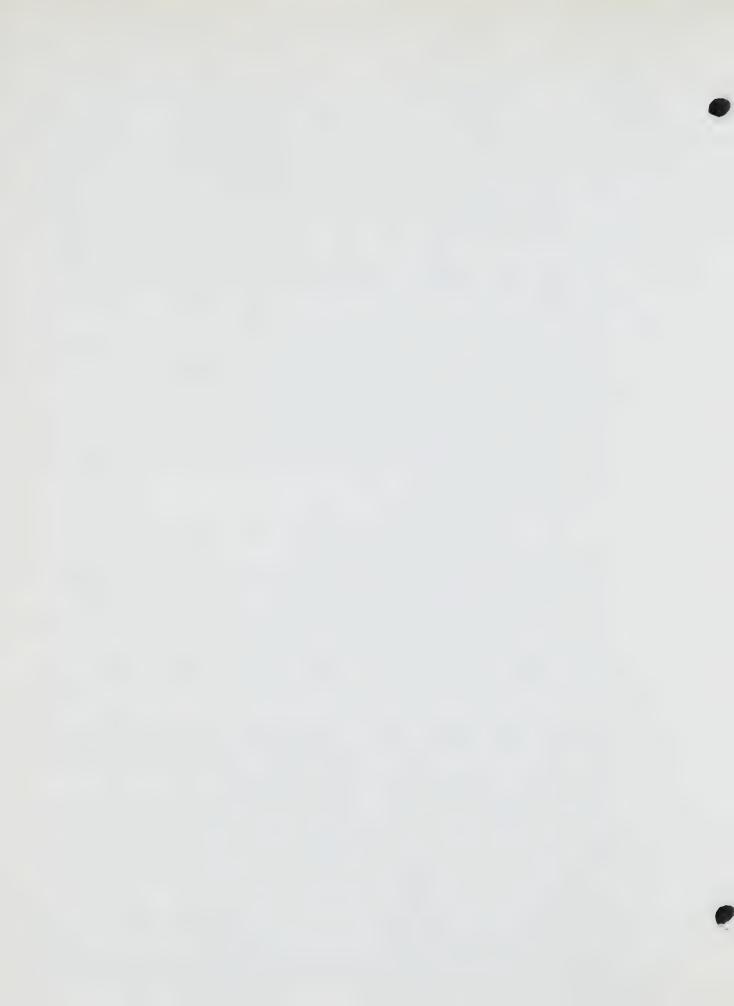
such as neuroticism, anomie, aliertion, imply psychological dysfunction at the upper extreme of the score range. Where such dysfunction exists, its etiology may lie early in the socialization of the individual, in his early years in Italy. Or it may lie in the immediate circumstances with which the indivudal is attempting to cope, in this case, his experiences and adjustments to Canadian society. We have no sure way of sorting out these sources of possible influence; it seems probable that both may be involved, but we have no way of testing this or any other hypothesis with the data available. All that we can say is that at the time that the subjects were interviewed, during the Spring of 1965, they responded to questions in ways which generated the scores which are discussed below.

4.2. Psychological Characteristics. The first of the four measures which we term "psychological characteristics" is the neuroticism score, which is based on the six items of the short form of the Maudsley Personality Inventory neuroticism scale. According to its author, neuroticism "refers to the general emotional lability of a person, his emotional overresponsiveness, and his lability to neurotic breakdown under stress." Sample items include: "Do you sometimes feel

Mean neuroticism scores for the Italian and the Ukrainina samples and for various sub-samples are found in Table XV. This table shows both

¹H. J. Eysenck, Manual of the Maudsley personality inventory, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, Chigwell Press, 1959, p. 3.

happy, sometimes depressed, without any particular reason?" "Are you often troubled with feelings of guilt?" "Do you spend much time thinking over the good times you have had in the past?"



MEAN NEUROTICISM SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLE, BY AGE-SEX AND SEX-DURATION SUB-GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES, WITH INDICATION OF SIGNIFI- ... CANCEL LEVELS OF CHI SQUARES.

	MAL	E	FEM	ALE	TOTAL	
	No.	Mean ·	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
<u>Italian</u> Sex-Age	202	4.672	198	5.040	400 .	4.880
Sex-Duration	207	4.656	191	5.120	398	4.878
Non-Response Sex-Age	10		8		18	
Sex-Duration	10		8		18	
Younger	98	4.488	103	5.066	201	4.786
Older	104	4.846	95	5.114	199	4.974
Short Duratiom	99	4.888	99	5.392	198	5.140
Lond Duration	108	4.444	92	4.826	200	4.620
<u>Ukrainian</u>						
Total	377	5.22 .	389	6.25	766	5.80
Young	76	5.84	84 (6.89	160	6.39
Med.	104	4.79	123	5.77	227	5.32
Old	197	5.20	182	6.27	379	5.71

^aTwo subjects were unclassifiable.



that the neuroticism scores of the Ukrainians are higher than those of the Italians, and that the pattern of means scores for age-sex subsamples is different between the two. For both ethnic groups, women's scores were higher than were men's scores, although the differential was higher among the Ukrainians. For the Italian sample the age differences were slight with older subjects having higher scores, whereas for the Ukrainian sample, the scores were highest for the youngest groups. The Italian data do show a tendency for short duration of Canadian residence subjects to make higher scores than long residence subjects.

The extraversion score, a measure of the tendency of subjects to be outgoing, uninhibited and sociable, is based on three items from the Maudsley Personality Inventory Extraversion scale. Sample items

include, "Do you usually take the first step in making new friends?"

"Would you be very unhappy if you were prevented from making many social contacts?" Mean extraversion scores for the Italian and the Ukrainian samples and for various sub-samples are found in Table XVI. The

Italian sample scored consistently higher on the extraversion scale than did the Ukrainian sample. The men in both groups scored higher than did the women, but among the Italians, older subjects scored consistely higher than did younger subjects; whereas, this pattern did not hold for Ukrainian men though it did for Ukrainian women.

The dogmatism score is based on responses to twelve items drawn from the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale. This scale is designed to measure

¹Same, p. 3.



TABLE XVI

MEAN EXTRAVERSION SCCRES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLE BY AGE-SEX AND SEX-DURATION SUB-GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES

	Ni	ALE	Fi	EMALE	TO	TAL	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	
<u>Italian</u> Sex-Age	, 202	4.800	190	4.210	392	4.514	
Sex-Duration Non-Response	206	4.796	184	4.228	390	4.528	
Sex-Age	10		16		26		
Sex-Duration	11		15		26		
Younger	98	4.754	98	4.182	196	4.468	
Older	104	4.846	92	4.238	196	4.560	
Short Duration ^a	99	4.88	93	3.912	192	4.416	
Long Duration	107	4.710	91	4.548	198	4.636	
Ukrainian							
Total	377	4.08	389	3.81	766	3.94	
Young	76	4.35	84	3.71	160	4.01	
Med.	104	4.13	123	3.82	227	3.96	
Old	197	3.94	182	3.86	379	3.90	

^aTwo subjects were unclassifiable.



open-closed mindedness. Rokeach writes that the "basic characteristic that defines the extent to which a person's (personality) system is open or closed is the extent to which the person can receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits, unencumbered by irrelevant factors in the situation arising from within the person, such as his own fearful or emotional response to the information, or from the outside, such as the prestigefulness of the source of information." Sample items include "In today's

world, the only way of finding out how things really are is to listen to important or trusted men." "Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop." "Id'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems." Subjects responded

Mean dogmatism scores for the Italian and the Ukrainian samples and for various sub-samples are found in Table XVII. The data show that the mean scores for the two total samples are comparable. Among the Italians, the scores of men are higher than those of women, and the scores of younger subjects are higher than those of older subjects.

Among the Ukraininans, both of these patterns are reversed, with older, and female, subjects making the higher scores. Among Italians, lower scores were found for long duration subjects than for short duration subjects.

¹Milton Rokeach, The open and closed mind, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1960, p. 57.

²Same, pp. 74-80.

[&]quot;strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," or "strongly disagree."



TABLE XVII

MEAN DOGMATISM SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLES BY AGE-SEX AND SEX-DURATION SUB-GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES

179

Agents which makes the control of th	MA	LE	F	EMALE	TC	TAL	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	
<u>Italia</u> Sex-Age	_/ 212	28.840	206	27.272	418	28.574	
Sex-Duration Non-Response	217	29.764	199	27.332	416	28.600	
Sex-Age	3		0		3		
Sex-Duration	3		yea		3		
Younger	100	30.040	103	28.224	203	29.118	
Older	112	29.660	103	26.320	215	28.060	
Short Durationa	106	30.340	102	28.274	208	29.326	
Long Duration	111	29.216	97	26.340	208	27.876	
Ukrainian							
Total	351	29.10	343	29.08	694	28.78	
Young	78	27.5	82	28.04	160	27.78	
Med.	99	28.78	116	28.66	215	28.72	
Old	174	30.00	145	30.00	. 319	30.00	

^aTwo subjects were unclassifiable.



The dominance of children score is based on seven items from the Parental Dominance sub-scale of the Shoben Parental Attitude survey.

These items reflect a tendency in parents to assign to the child a distinctly inferior role and to demand unquestioning submission from him under penalty of severe punishment. Sample items include: "A child should fear their parents to some degree." "It is wicked for children to disobey their parents." Subjects responded in terms of four response categories ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree" which were weighted from 1 through 4.

Mean dominance scores for Italian and Ukrainian subjects are found in Table XVIII. The mean scores for the total samples are quite comparable; those for the Ukrainians are slightly higher, but this group has a higher proportion of elderly subjects, and among the Ukrainians they made higher scores on this scale. Italian men scored slightly higher than did Italian women, whereas among the Ukrainians the reverse was true. The pattern of scores among both groups was identical with the patterns of anomie and alienation scores. Older Italian men scored higher than did younger Italian men, while among women this was reversed. It seems probable that the impact of Canadian egalitarianism is seen in the tendency for both men and women who have resided for a longer period in Canada to make lower dominance scores than those more newly arrived.

¹E. J. Shoben, Jr., The assessment of parental attitudes in relation to child adjustment, Genet.psychol.monogr., XXXIX (1949), pp. 103-148.



TABLE XVIII

MEAN CHILD DOMINANCE SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLES BY A

181

MEAN CHILD DOMINANCE SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLES BY AGE-SEX AND SEX-DURATION SUB-GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES

	No.	LE Mean	FE. No.	MALE Mean	No.	OTAL Mean
¹ talian Sex-Age	212	21.443	206	21.223	418	21.359
Sex-Duration	217	21.378	199	21.286	416	21.334
lon-Response Sex-Age	3		2		5	
Sex-Duration	3		2		5	
Younger	100	20.990	103	21.301	203	21.148
Older	112	21.848	103	21.146	215	21.512
Short Duration ^a	106	21.811	102	21.422	208	21.620
Long Duration	111	20.964	97	21.144	208	21.048
<u>Ukrainian</u>						
Total	377	21.58	389	22.23	766	21.67
Young	75	20.22	81	21.24	156	20.75
med.	101	21.20	122	21.57	223	21.40
Old	201	22.28	186	23.09	387	22.67

^aTwo subjects could not be classified.



4.4. Psychological Reactions to Canada. There are two sets of scores and two sets of items which may give insight into the extent to which the "culture shock" of the move to Canada and the problems of adjustment to Canadian society are distressing and perhaps disorganizing to Italian immigrants. The scores are the anomie and the alienation scores. The two items are both components of the alienation scale.

The .nomie scores were obtained by using all five items of the Srole Anomie scale. This scale seeks to operationalize Durkheim's

concepts of anomie and egoism as subjective consequences of experiencing certain conditions. The content of the items clearly relate to feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. They are worded as follows: "There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man." "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself." "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on." "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better." "It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future." The scale appears to measure generalized feelings of hopelessness or despair. One advantage of using this scale in the current study is that it has been rather widely used during the last decade and so data from other studies may be cited for comparison purposes.

Mean anomie scores for the Italian and the Ukrainian samples and for various sub-samples are found in Table XIX. This table shows that the anomie scores of the Italians are comparable with those of the

¹ Srole, quoted work.



183 TABLE XIX

MEAN ANOMIE SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLES BY AGE-SEX AND SEX-DURATION SUB-GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
Taun :	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
<u>Italian</u> Sex-Age	209	1.813	166	1.855	375	1.832
Sex-Duration on-Response	212	1.811	162	1.858	374	1.831
Sex-Age	3		40		43	
Sex-Duration	5		37		42	
Younger	99	1.787	. 89	2.011	188	1.893
Older	110	1.836	77	1.675	187	1.770
Short Duration ^a	103	1.766	83	1.975	186	1.860
Long Duration	109	1.853	79	1.734	188	1.781
<u>Ukrainian</u>						
Total	385	1.62	397	1.84	782	1.77
Young	74	1.28	82	1.63	156	1.46
Med.	104	1.64	123	1.80	227	1.73
Oid .	207	1.74	192	1.95	399	1.84

a Two subjects were unclassifiable.



Ukrainians, the mean scores being 1.83 and 1.77 respectively. These scores are very similar to those published in other studies. For example, the mean score for 586 male and female household heads in a small New York state city was 1.70. For 401 "white, Christian, native born public transit lines patrons" in Springfield, Mass., the mean score was 2.05. For 701 male respondents living in four different areas of San Francisco, the mean anomie scores for the four sub-samples were 2.25, 2.25, 1.60 and 1.40—the scores varying inversely as the social class standing of the area. Among the Italians, as among the Ukrainians, the women had higher mean anomie scores than did the men. The latter scores increased with age. However, this was true for the Italian men but not true for the Italian women, among whom it dropped sharply with increasing age. Similarly, although among the men the longer duration subjects had slightly higher scores than did short duration subjects, among the women this relationship was reversed.

The concept of alienation is rather similar to anomie, and refers generally to subjects' feelings of rejection by and estrangement from various areas of life. Seeman has distinguished five aspects of alienation: powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation from others and self-estrangement. Three of these dimensions, power-

¹Melvin Seeman, On the meaning of alienation, American sociological review, XXIV (December, 1959), pp. 783-791.

lessness, normlessness, and social isolation, have been operationalized by Dean; using attitude items, and twelve items from Dean's scale have been used in the present study. 2 Items used in the scale include "The

²Dean, quoted work.



way life is today, there's not much room for choice, even in personal matters" (powerlessness); "There just aren't any definite rules to live by" (normlessness); and "There are few dependable ties between people any more" (social isolation).

Mean alienation scores for Italian and Ukrainian subjects are found in Table XX. The data show that the mean for Ukrainians is slightly higher fhan for Italians, but this is explained by the fact that older Ukrainians made higher scores than their juniors, and there was a much higher percentage of older subjects in the Ukrainian than in the Italian samples, the percentages of those over 44 years of age being 46.2 per cent and 18.8 per cent respectively. The pattern of alienation scores is identical with that of the anomie scores for the Italian subjects, that is, scores increased with age among the men and decreased with age among the women. The same identity of the two score patterns is seen for the Ukrainian sample as well, but of course, it is a different pattern. As with the anomie scores, alienation scores increased with greater duration of residency for the men, but decreased with greater duration for the women.

The picture obtained from these acore patterns may be filled out somewhat by examining the pattern of responses to two especially relevant items. One of the consequences of migration from one country to another and of the very rapid and perhaps traumatic acculturation which may result for some is the experience of the erosion of all values. We may obtain some insight into the incidence of this type of reaction among members of the study sample by examining their responses to the statement "there just aren't any definite rules to live by" which was



TABLE XX MEAN ALIENATION SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLES BY AGE-SEX AND

186

SEX-DURATION SUB-GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mear
Italian Sex-Age	/ 212	29.958	206	29.403	418	29.685
Sex-Duration	217	29.910	199	29.601	416	29.763
Non-Response Sex-Age	5		31		36	
Sex-Duration	6		28		34	
ounger/	100	29.490	103	30.423	203	29.964
lder	112	30.375	103	28.383	215	29.421
hort Durationa	106	29.775	102	30.000	208	29.886
ongDuration	111	30.042	97	29.181	208	29.640
<u>krainian</u>						
otal	347	31.41	339	32.14	686	31.78
oung	77	28.45	80	29.80	157	29.14
ed.	97	31.00	115	31.00	212	31.00
ld	173	32.95	144	34.36	317	33.59

^aTwo subjects were unclassifiable.



included in the interview schedule. Unfortunately, we must be cautious in our interpretation of these data because 74 subjects, 18 per cent of the sample, failed to respond to this item. The non-response was low among the men, amounting to only four per cent, but of the total sample, 32 per cent of the women failed to respond.

Bearing this caveat in mind, we may examine the data which indicate that 25 per vent agreed with the statement. Women were more likely to agree than men, the percentages being 33 per cent and 20 per cent of those responding. Interestingly enough, the data indicate that there are no differences by age or duration of Canadian residence for either the male or the female sub-samples in their responses to this item. All that the data reveal is a simple sex difference in the responses. We have seen in the preceding pages that the contacts of Italian men with both Canadians and the Canadian culture are more frequent and probably more penetrating than are the contacts of Italian women in our sample. Accordingly, a possible interpretation of the sex differences in the responses to this question might be that the women, who are more socially and culturally isolated, express more bewilderment or anomie than do the men because, although they are aware of the inappropriateness of their Italian ways to their Canadian situation, they have not encountered enough of Canadian culture to be aware of what the appropriate Canadian ways would be. Bewilderment and the feeling that "there just aren't any definite rules to live by" would be the inevitable response to such a situation.

A second, related, item included in the schedule deals with the response of sample members as they see the attitudes and values of others



around them changing. This item reads: "People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on." The nonresponse rate to this item was lower, including just ten per cent of the sample; or two per cent of the men and seventeen per cent of the women. Almost three out of four (72 per cent) of the 378 members of the sample who responded to this item agreed with it. Although more women than men agreed, the differential was low, the percentages being 70 per cent for the men and 74 per cent for the women. The age-sex and sex-duration differentials in response to this item are difficult to account for. Among men it is the older men who more frequently agreed with the statement (78 per cent, as compared with 62 per cent for the younger men). With women, on the other hand, 84 per cent of the younger group agreed with the statement as compared with 63 per cent of the older group. The sex-duration sub-groups show the same pattern of response differentials. The long duration men more frequently agreed than did the short duration men (75 per cent and 64 per cent), whereas the short duration women more frequently agreed than did the long duration women (88 per cent and 64 per cent). Furthermore, it is the older, and longer duration male group which most frequently responded "strongly agree" to the item, the percentages being 54 per cent and 49 per cent. Whereas it was the older and longer duration female group which least frequently responded "strongly agree" (21 per cent and 20 per cent). Perhaps the explanation is that it is the older-longer duration men who are in the position to see other people changing, whereas the more sheltered older women have seen far less of it. The younger women, perhaps because they are more likely to have young children in school,



may be more torn by the awareness of change than the older women.

On the other hand, perhaps the data indicate that among the men it is the younger group who have made an easier adjustment to Canadian society, whereas among the women the pattern is reversed. Data in later chapters will shed further light on this question.

4.5. Work Motivations. The motivation and ambition of peasant peoples who leave the over-crowded old world and move to the relatively underpopulated new world are often high, but they may change as they become acculturated to the new society. An index of motivations is provided by the Protestant Ethic score. This score reflects the responses of subjects to a series of six items such as: "If you had a great deal of money would you work as much as you do now?" "Would you say that the worst thing about being sick is that your work does not get done?" "Would you say that most people spend too much time working and not enough time enjoying life?" These items permit subjects a chance

Mean Protestant Ethic scores for the Italian and the Ukrainian samples and for various sub-samples are found in Table XXI. The table shows that the scores of Italian subjects are considerably higher than those of Ukrainian subjects, the means for the two groups being 24.28 and 20.19 respectively. Whereas Italian men scored higher than did

¹These items were modified from items constructed by Benton Johnson for the Comparative Value Project, National Institute of Mental Health, Grant No. 4309-Rl. United States Government.

to indicate the importance of hard work and success to themselves when these values are pitted against a variety of other values. They are scored so as to weight the work-emphasizing response.



TABLE XXI

MEAN PROTESTANT ETHIC SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN SAMPLES BY AGE-SEX
AND SEX-DURATION SUB-GROUPS, WITH PERCENTAGES

190

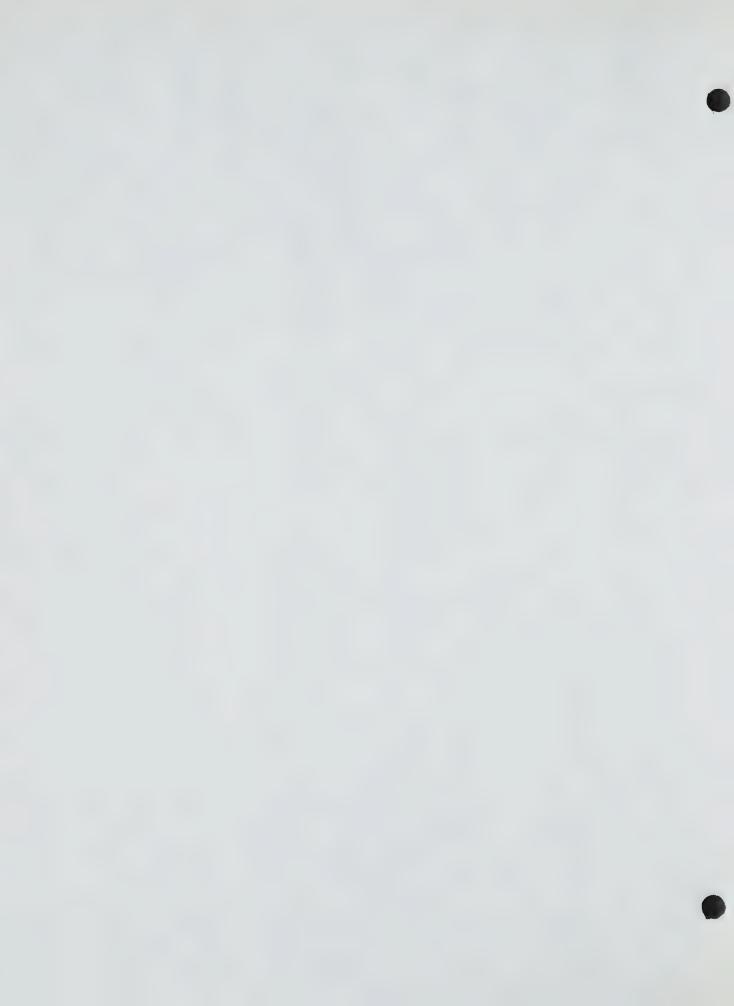
	MALE		FEMALE .		TOT.	AL
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
<u>Italian</u> Sex-Age	/212	23.688	206	20.838	418	22.284
Sex-Duration	217	23.646	199	20.841	416	22.368
Non-Response Sex-Age	. 1		23		24	
Sex-Duration	2		20		22	
Younger	100	23.160	103	20.841	203	21.984
Older	112	23.162	103	20.841	215	22.569
Short Durationa	106	24.369	102	20.175	208	22.314
Long Duration	111	22.959	97	21.819	208	22.428
<u>Ukrainian</u>						
Total	381	19.94	394	20.41	775	20.1789
Young	76	19.56	83	20.55	159	20.077
Med.	163	19.62	123	20.37	226	20.028
Old	202	20.25	188	20.37	390	20.308

^aTwo subjects could not be classified.



Italian women, this was not the case among the Ukrainians. Among both groups, the scores of men tended to increase slightly with age, whereas there was no change with age among the women. The moderating influence of Canadian culture on the men is seen in the fact that the scores of men tended to decline with longer residence in Canada. However, the scores of women tended to increase slightly with longer Canadian residence, perhaps because they become more eager to be able to enjoy the Canadian "good life."

As intimated earlier, these data will be much more useful in later sections of this report in answering questions such as "What kinds of people respond in ____ways to certain kinds of experiences in Canada?" and in making comparisons between various sub-groupings of the study sample than they are here in making generalizations about the personality characteristics of the sample. But, perhaps a few generalizations can be made at this time. It appears that the sample is quite "normal" within the limits of the data available. This was apparent from the anomie data, in the first place. It is implied also by the neuroticism scores. These scores are not precisely comparable with the Maudsley Neuroticism Short Form scores because substitutions had to be Made for two out of the six items and the "don't know" response category was eliminated. Both changes were made to facilitate interviewing simple, unsophisticated immigrant subjects in their mother tongue. Although these sources of incomparability exist, it is interesting to see that the mean neuroticism score for the Italian sample was lower than the mean score of 1,600 English normals in the standardization group: 4.88 as compared with 6.15. Comparison with the Ukrainian



data points to the same conclusion, not only with respect to the neuroticism scores, but with respect to dogmatism and alienation scores as well. It is noteworthy that the average duration of Canadian residence of the Ukrainian sample members was between three and four times longer than that of Italian sample members, and indeed, many were second-generation immigrants, Canadian born. Thus, one might have expected that the scores of Italians would have been higher, since they were more involved in the problems of adjustment caused by more recent immigration. However, such was not the case.

The scores do reflect some other patterns which are rather as one would expect. The higher extraversion scores of the Italians in comparison with the Ukrainians seems to reflect their proverbial sociability and congeniality. The high child dominance scores, especially of the older men, reflect the patriarchalism of the rural peasant culture from which a majority of the sample members came. And the very high Protestant Ethic scores reflect the hard working, saving, orientation of this same culture. The age differentials seem indicative of changes taking place in the home culture in Italy, and different levels of identification with elements of the home culture on the one hand, and the culture of the adoptive country on the other hand.

4.6. Summary. In this chapter we have described the structure and culture of the Italian community in Edmonton, as these are revealed in data from the interview schedules. In addition to presenting a general picture of the familial characteristics and attitudes of the sample members, their primary associations and social life, religious and political participation, associational memberships, mass media



exposure, leisure time activities, value identifications and personality characteristics, we examined some of the sex, age, and duration of Canadian residency differentials between sample members in respect to these areas. The differentials which were found were suggestive of the greater insulation from Canadian culture of the women in contrast to the men; the acculturating effects of lengthy residence in Canada; and perhaps the greater flexibility of younger subjects by contrast with older subjects. Comparisons betwen the sample of Italians living in Edmonton, and a sample of Ukrainians living in Edmonton who were interviewed about eight months earlier, on the personality measures, were helpful in attempting to assess the significance of score levels of the Italians. In general, these scores tend to suggest a high degree of normality on the part of the Italian sample members.

This concludes the purely descriptive section of this report.

It is to the analytical sections that we now turn for consideration.



PART II

ANALYTIC SECTION OF THE REPORT

In Part I we have déscribed in general terms the Italian community in Edmonton and its historical and geographical aspects, the sample which was interviewed, and the procedures which were used in interviewing them. We have described in general terms the structure and culture of the Italian community in Edmonton and the psychological characteristics of the members of the community. But we have said little or nothing about the influences which were operative, and especially, the ones which contributed to the appearance of the range of variation in the sample. The purpose of this second, analytic section of the report is to determine whether or not a number of independent or possible "causal" variables are associated with variables which are reflective of the immigrants' adjustment and integration in this country. Sometimes it is impossible to specify whether a variable is independent or dependent: whether it is a "cause" or an "effect." Of course, some "effects" become, in turn, "causes" of further "effects." Such analytically ambiguous variables will be looked at from both perspectives.

The independent variables are grouped into two main categories:

pre-migration variables, and post-migration variables. The pre-migration

variables refere to the characteristics of the respondents prior to

their removal from Italy, and include demographic, ecological, social

class and personality characteristics. The post-migration variables

refer to the characteristics of respondents' situations following their



arrival in Canada, and include ecological, interpersonal, interactional, cultural exposure, social class, and personal status characteristics.

The dependent variables are grouped by chapters, into the following categories: adjustment to Canadian society and satisfaction with life in Canada, integration into Canadian society, acculturation and value changes in Canada, and assimilative tendencies among Italian immigrants. Each of these categories are further sub-divided in various ways, but the specification of these sub-categories is found in the appropriate chapter.

The plan of analysis has involved exploring the relationships of all of the independent variables to all of the dependent variables. It is to a systematic presentation of the large number of relationships that have been explored that we turn at this time.

The number of these interrelationships which have been investigated is, in fact, very large, close to 4,000. Each of these has involved a separate table with a separate tabulation of subjects in terms of a pair of independent variable and dependent variable item, and the calculation of a chi square to determine whether the distribution of subjects deviated significantly from chance. Clearly this mass of tables cannot be attached to the report. What has been done instead is to compile summary tables which present the results of these tabulations with the pre- or post-migration variables in the rows and the dependent variables indices of various kinds of accommodation in the columns.

In those cells of the table where particular independent variables (in the table rows) are significantly associated with particular



independent variables (in the table columns) will appear symbols describing the nature of the relationship. A direct relationship is symbolized with a + sign; an inverse relationship is symbolized with a - sign, and a curvilinear relationship with a ± sign. The confidence level of the relationship is expressed as follows: the figure 5 signifies the five per cent level of significance, 1 the one per cent, and .1 the point one per cent level of significance.

The plan of presentation of the next four chapters involves first describing the dependent variable indices, then presenting a series of such tabulation tables with a concise description of the pattern of interrelationships between independent variables and the dependent variables, and finally, summarizing the main outlines of the pattern in a concluding section.



CHAPTER V

ADJUSTMENT OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS TO EDMONTON, AND THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THEIR LIFE THERE

In this chapter we shall consider first the adequacy of the adjustment which the Italian immigrant subjects have made to the new Canadian situation in which they now live, and second, their satisfaction with their life here. Adjustment will be considered under three headings: economic adjustment, social adjustment, and personal or psychological adjustment. Satisfaction with life in Canada will be considered under only one heading. In this chapter, as in the analytic chapters which follow, the plan will be, first, to present the indices of that aspect of adjustment, integration, acculturation, etc., which is under consideration, and the undifferentiated responses of the sample members to these index items, in order to establish the sample norm. In some cases this presentation will overlap material discussed in the previous two chapters. Then the responses to these index items will be related, first, to the pre-migration independent variables, and then, to the post-migration independent variables.

THE INDICES OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

There were seven items on the interview schedule which are useful as indices of economic adjustment. These seven are employment, income, occupational level, three indices of occupational mobility—mobility in comparison with the father's occupation, in comparison with the



subject's last position in Italy, and in comparison with his first position in Canada—and ownership of Canadian property. The distribution of responses to each of these seven items will be described briefly.

The initial economic concern of the new immigrant is finding, and holding, employment. Of the 409 men contacted directly, or indirectly, by means of interviewing their wives, during the course of this study, 79 per cent were employed full-time and 17 per cent were either actually unemployed (4.6 per cent) or employed only seasonally (12.5 per cent). The remaining four per cent were retired, invalided, or not in Edmonton. Thus, it appears that unemployment is not a problem among the members of the sample, although sporatic employment is for one in six of those contacted.

Once employment is taken care of, the adequacy of the living which he is able to purchase with the income he is able to earn becomes important. As Table I shows, the economic or income adjustment of the families in our sample is generally quite good, and indeed not as low in comparison with the family income levels for the city of Edmonton as a whole as the occupational levels of the men might lead one to expect. Italians are only very slightly over-represented in the under \$2,000 category, but they are significantly under-represented in the \$6,000 to \$8,000 category, and very much under-represented in the over \$8,000 category. The income figures reflect the contribution of the rather large proportion of wives who are working, and perhaps of older children or unmarried siblings as well.

In Table II are found the mean family earnings of British,



TABLE I

FAMILY INCOME OF SAMPLE MEMBERS AND OF EDMONTON RESIDENTS^a WITH PERCENTAGES AND CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES

	\$1,000 - \$1,999	\$2,000 - \$3,999	\$4,000 - \$5,999	\$6,000 - \$7,999	\$8,000 \$15,000
Census Number	5,243	13,825	21,066	13,454	10,692 1918
Per cent	7.9%	20.9%	31.8%	20.3%	16.2% 2.9%
Cumulative %	7.9	28.8	60.6	80.9	97.1 100.0
Sample					
Number	30	129	170	53	12
Per cent	7.6%	32.7%	43.1%	13.4%	3.2%
Cumulative %	7.6	40.3	83.4	96.8	100.0

^aTaken from the 1961 Census.



TABLE II

MEAN FAMILY EARNINGS FOR BRITISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN AND UKRAINIAN ORIGINS FAMILIES IN EDMONTON² AND FOR SAMPLE MEMBERS BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

	Total Number of Families	Number of Nat. Born Families	Number of Pre-War Families	No. of Post-War Families	Total Family Earnings	Nat. Born Family Earnings	Pre-War Family Earnings	Posy-War Family Earnings
British Isles	31,902	24,533	4,603	2,766	\$6,453	\$6,431	\$6,376	\$6,782
German	8,754	4,225	994	3,535	5,307	5,586	5,291	4,978
Italian	994	204	77	713	4,564	6,986	6,467	3,665
Ukrainian	7,696	5,885	1,119	692	5,151	5,297	4,692	4,652
Italian Sample					4,595			

^aW.-E. Kalbach, Impact of post-war immigration on the Canadian population. Census monograph in preparation for Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.



German, Italian and Ukrainian origins families for the city of Edmonton by period of immigration, as calculated for the special census tabulations which were used previously. Three points may be made with respect to the data found there: first, the mean family earnings for the sample, \$4,595, is a close estimate of the mean income cited for all Italian origins families, \$4,564. However, since the native born Italian family heads constitute 20 per cent of the total, and since their mean income is very high, \$6,986, it appears in fact that our sample is over-representative of higher income Italian immigrant families. There are perhaps two explanations. The first is that our data were collected almost three years after the Census data were collected, and during that period we may expect the wage level in Edmonton to have increased somewhat. The second and doubtless more significant explanation is that the income distribution was skewed toward the high end of the scale, thus distorting the mean in that direction, given the sample size. Accordingly, a better measure of the central tendency is doubtless the median. The median income for the Italians in the sample is \$4,447, which although lower, is not very much so. The implication that the sample is over-representative of higher income subjects does not accord with earlier indications that it was under-representative of top occupational level respondents.

It is clear that the mean family incomes of Italian immigrants, and especially of post-war immigrants are quite low in comparison with those of the other three immigrant groups. However, it is also clear from the income figures for pre-war immigrant and native born Italians that, in the past, they have succeeded in improving their incomes very materially in a very short time. The incomes of pre-war Italians exceeds



that of all other pre-war immigrant groups, including the British, and likewise the incomes of native born Italian origin people in Edmonton exceed those of the other three native born groups.

The skill levels at which the men were employed were quite low. Table III shows the occupational categories according to Hollingshead's classification of the jobs held by the men at the time that they were contacted. Almost one-half, 48.3 per cent, worked at positions which were classed as unskilled. About one-quarter, (23.5 per cent) were classed as machine operators and semi-skilled employees, and an equal number (24.0 per cent), were classed as skilled manual employees. Only four per cent fell into professional, managerial, technical, clerical, or sales categories.

Although the skill levels are low, sociological research has demonstrated again and again that subjective definitions are very often more consequential than objective definitions in influencing contentment, and in particular, that relative standings often mean more to people than do absolute standings. In evaluating occupational placement, relative gratification and relative deprivation cannot be ignored. This is one important context in which the mobility measures are significant. The data in Table III suggest unmistakably that these men have reason for contentment with their lot, both in contrast with their last work positions in Italy and their first positions in Canada. In coming to Canada, over one-third of the group exchanged the uncertainties of farming for the greater certainties of wage employment, many moving into the ranks of the semi-skilled. Whereas only one out of five held a job at the semi-skilled level or higher as his first position in



TABLE III

HOLLINGSHEAD OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF JOBS HELD BY MEN AT THE TIME OF INTERVIEW, AT TIME OF LAST EMPLOYMENT IN ITALY, AND AT THE TIME OF FIRST EMPLOYMENT IN CANADA WITH PERCENTAGES

	lass l	Class 2	Class	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Class Far- 7 mer ^a
	10.2	2	2	11 2.7	97 24.0	95 23.5	195 1 48.3 0.2
	# %	3 0.8		17 4.7	87 24.0	50 13.8	78 128 21.5 35.3
First occupation # %	0.3			7 1.8	46 11.5	31 7.8	305 10 76.3 2.5

and Lesser Professionals; Class 3: Administrators, small business men minor professionals; Class 4: Clerical, sales, and technicians; Class 5: Skilled manual workers; Class 6: Operatives and semi-skilled; Class 7: Unskilled; Note: classes 1-7 exclude farmers.



Canada, over half are employed at this level or above now.

Table IV shows the upward or downward mobility of subjects' current positions in comparison with the first position held in Canada, the last work position held in Italy, and the occupations of their fathers. Of the three mobility indices found there, probably the most significant to respondents was their current occupational standing in Canada compared with their own last position in Italy. In terms of this criterion, one out of six (13.9 per cent) has been upwardly mobile, but almost as large a proportion has been somewhat downwardly mobile. The intra-Canada mobility is significant, however, because it seems probable that the shock of downward mobility was met by many subjects during their first workplacement in this country. Since that first position, one in three has made upward mobility gains, and almost all of the rest have maintained their positions. After mastering the shock of transition, most members of the sample have had good reason for contentment.

This contentment is indeed reflected in the response of male subjects to the question, "If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of a job would you like to have?" One-third of the 200 men who answered this question indicated that they would like the job they currently hold, with perhaps only minor changes. Both in terms of employment levels and of occupational levels, that the members of the sample have made good adjustment—since their arrival in this country, seems clear.

The rate of property ownership in Canada among sample members was remarkably high, 65 per cent. In most of these cases, 58 per cent of them in fact, all that was owned was a house. Twenty-two subjects



TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF SUBJECTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE FIRST WORK POSITION IN CANADA, LAST POSITION HELD IN ITALY, AND THE OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF THE FATHER

Mobility in Comparison With:	Upward No. %		No Change No. %		Downward No. %	
First work position in Canada	133	33.3	256	64.2	10	2.6
Last position in Italy	58	16.2	227	63.6	72	13.9
Occupational level of father	94	23.6	218	54.5	88	22.1



reported owning two houses, and seven reported owning business property.

This high cwnership rate is most impressive since most of the subjects are from such economically deprived backgrounds, and since the median duration of residence in Canada of the sample is only nine years.

It is clear that the sample members see Canada as a land of economic opportunity: the two most frequently cited favorable aspects of Canada were the opportunities for a secure and easier life, mentioned 163 times, and the economic opportunities, including high wages, which this country affords, mentioned by 93 subjects. It is also clear, both from the income data just cited, and from the responses of subjects to the Protestant Ethic questions, presented earlier, that Italian migrants to Edmonton mean to make the most of these opportunities.

THE INDICES OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Second in importance only to provision for his livelihood, for the migrant to a new country, is a satisfactory social adjustment. He is imminently in danger of suffering severely from the homesickness and loneliness of a stranger, often unable to understand or to make himself understood, in a strange and perhaps bewildering land. We have noted earlier that most of the members of the sample are spared the extreme form of this by the presence of relatives in the city. Only 51 of those contacted were not living with husband or wife, and 30 of these lived with relatives. A remarkably high proportion of the sample, 81 per cent, had relatives other than mates and dependent children in Edmonton. Indeed, almost half the sample members had seven or more relatives in the city, and we have seen that 181 respondents live in the same building with relatives not in their own family of procreation.



Nevertheless the number of friends that a person makes is an indication of the social adjustment that he is making, and the extent to which he feels at home, feels that he "belongs" in a community. In response to the question, "About bow many close personal friends do you have?" 96 out of the 405 respondents to this question answered "none." One hundred forty-two indicated that they had between one and four, 100 mentioned between five and ten, and 67 mentioned 11 or more.

For many people, however, these relationships with friends and relatives are apparently not adequate to their wishes as the responses to the following items indicate. Two-thirds of the 401 subjects who answered responded either "Strongly Agree" (36.2 per cent) or "Agree" (30.4 per cent) to the statement "There are few dependable ties between people any more." One-third of the 406 respondents to the statement, "Sometimes I feel alone in the world," indicated that they "strongly agreed" (13.3 per cent) or "agreed" (19.2 per cent). And one-fourth of 395 respondents agreed strongly (11.9 per cent) or agreed (12.7 per cent) with the statement, "Idon't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like."

THE INDICES OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

A third basic area where the new immigrant to a foreign country must make many important adjustments, in addition to the economic and the social, is the area of personal or psychological adjustments. As he finds himself surrounded by strangers who speak a foreign language, have different temperaments, expectations and concerns, who know little about him and often seem to care less, how bearable does he find his life?



How lonely is he? How many immigrants endure their days with hopelessness and despair? How many are fearful as they face the future?

Eleven items from the interview schedule may help us to answer these questions. Four of these are scores: the anomie score, alienation score, neuroticism score and dogmatism score. It must be admitted that the significance of score size for all four is somewhat ambiguous. A case may be made on the one hand that it was the subject's Italian background which predisposed him to anomie, neuroticism, dogmatism, etc. On the other hand, it can be argued that it is the kinds of experiences which subjects have had in this country which gave them the outlook on life which they had when they were interviewed. Since there are no compelling reasons for treating these variables as either independent or as dependent variables we shall resolve the issue by looking at them from both perspectives. In this section on personal adjustment we shall treat them as dependent variables. In the remainder of the analysis we shall treat them as independent variables. The reader should bear in mind that the score levels are, in fact, a result of the interaction of Italian background and Canadian experiences of the respondents.

Little can be very confidently said in terms of characterizing the adjustment of the sample as a whole by means of these scores. In an earlier discussion it was pointed out that most of the scores are better suited to the making of intra-sample comparisons than to making comparisons with other known groups. It was also pointed out with respect to the anomie scores that the members of the sample do not seem to be more generally hopeless or despairing than other groups on whom the Srole Anomie scale has been used, although this statement must be taken with



caution since we used an Italian translation of the scale. Similarly, there seemed to be some reason to believe that our sample was possessed of no more of neurotic tendencies than the sample of normals which Eysenck used in standardizing his short form of the Neuroticism scale. With respect to the dogmatism and alienation scales there was no indication that the sample members scored any higher than did the sample of Ukrainians on whom these items were also used.

Nevertheless, the answers to many individual items indicated rather widespread insecurity, and to some extent, fear, among the respondents, as the data in Table V shows.

In addition to the scores there are seven items, most of them components of one or another of the scales just discussed, which give insight into certain important areas of possible personal maladjustment. Two of these deal with attitudes toward the future; two with feelings concerning the dependability of other people, and three relate to the ability to direct one's own life. These items, and the responses of the sample as a whole to them, are found in Table V.

Only 12 per cent felt that it was not possible to plan for the future, but one-third felt that "it is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future." One source of this feeling must depend on the extent to which others may be counted on in time of difficulty. Sixty per cent of the sample agreed with the statement: "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count," and almost three-fourths of the subjects (72 per cent), agreed with the statement, "People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to count on."



TABLE V

RESPONSES TO SELECTED ITEMS REFLECTING PERSONAL MALADJUSTMENT WITH PERCENTAGES

210

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
It is only natural a person to be rath fearful of the fut	ner # 56	83 20.4%	124 30.5%	143 35.3%	406 100.0%
People's ideas chars so much that I wond if we'll ever have anything to depend	der # 140 % 37.1%	132 34.9%	65 17.2%	41 10.8%	378 100.0%
	ere just aren't any # 38 finite rules to live % 11.0%		89 25•9%	169 49.1%	344 100.0%
I'd like it if I confind someone who we tell me how to solutersonal problems	ould #131	129 31.5%	75 18.3%	74 18.1%	409 100.0%
The way life is too there is not much choice in personal matters	# 104	64 17.6%	90 24.7%	106 29•1%	364 100.0%
Many neonle say tha	at thev	One D Anot			her nswer
Many people say that they can live only from one day to the other at this time. Do you think this way too, or do you believe you can make plans for the future?		50 12.	3	49 86.4%	5 404 1.2% 100.0
		Yes	. N	io	
These days a person really know whom he count on		245 60.	16 3% 3	19.7%	406 100.



The last statement implies not only the fickleness of people, but the shiftiness of the bases for making decisions and shaping one's life. The consequency may be a loss of faith in ability to live one's life, and perhaps a loss of the feeling of controlling one's life. One-fourth of the sample agreed with the statement, "There just aren't any definite rules to live by." Two-thirds of the sample said that they would like "it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems." And almost one-half, 46 per cent, agreed that "The way life is today there is not much choice even in personal matters."

Thus it is clear that the majority of people interviewed are chronically worried about their personal problems and disturbed by the changes taking place around them. Many are worried about what the future may bring, and a small proportion are despairing of their ability to cope with the future. As we shall see in Chapter XII, however, these fears are not sufficiently strong to drive a very large proportion to deviant solutions of their problems. Disturbed behavior and delinquency were found to be quite rare in the Italian community.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT OF SAMPLE MEMBERS

Because the number of interrelationships explored between independent and dependent variables was so large in this study it is not possible to reproduce here all of the tables which were analyzed. Instead, a summary table is presented in Table VI, which shows the direction and the significance levels of these relationships. The first row of the table, which is labelled "Relationship of Indices to Economic



TABLE VI

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT INDICES WITH NATURE^a OF RELATIONSHIP AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Economic Adjustment Indices	Employment Adjust- ment	Current Occupational Level	Mobility Compared with Father's Job	Mobility Compared with last Italian Job	Mobility Compared with First Canadian Job	Annual Income	Owns Canadian Property
Relationship of Indices to Economic Adjustment Pre-Migration Variables	+		+	-1-	+	+	a-ţ
Demographic Age	+5%	-5%	-1% NOT RE	-1%	-1%	±5%	+1%
Sex Marital Status	M+5%	M-1%	M-1%	M-1%	M-1%	M+1%	N+2%
Rural-Urban Origins North-South Origins Social Class	U+5% N+1%	U+1% N+1%	U±1% O	U-1%	U-5% N+2%	U+1% N+2%	U-5% O
Education Occupation of Father Man's last Italian Occ.	+1% +5% +.1%	+.1% +1% +.1%	+.1% -1% +.1%	+.1% -5% 1%	+.1% +5% +.1%	+2% +5% +5%	-1% -2% -5%
Personality Frequency of church Att.	0	0	-5%	-2%	- 5%	Ò	0
Chauvanism Neuroticism	01%	-5% 0	-5% 0	-5% 0	-5% -5%	0 -5%	+5% +5%
Dogmatism Alienation	-2% 1%	0	0	0	0	-1% 0	-1% 0

 $^{^{}a}+=$ direct relationship; -= inverse relationship; $\pm=$ curvilinear relationship; 0= no significant relationship; R= redundant; M= married; N= North; S= South.



Adjustment" shows when the dependent variable indexes the criterion directly by means of a + sign, and when it indexes the criterion inversely, by means of a - sign. In the first case, the relationship of the independent variable to the criterion (in this case, economic adjustment) is just as shown. In the second case the relationship is the opposite of that shown; that is, direct relationships with the index variable are in fact inverse relationships with the criterion, and vice versa.

The statistics used throughout in evaluating the significance of the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables is the chi square.

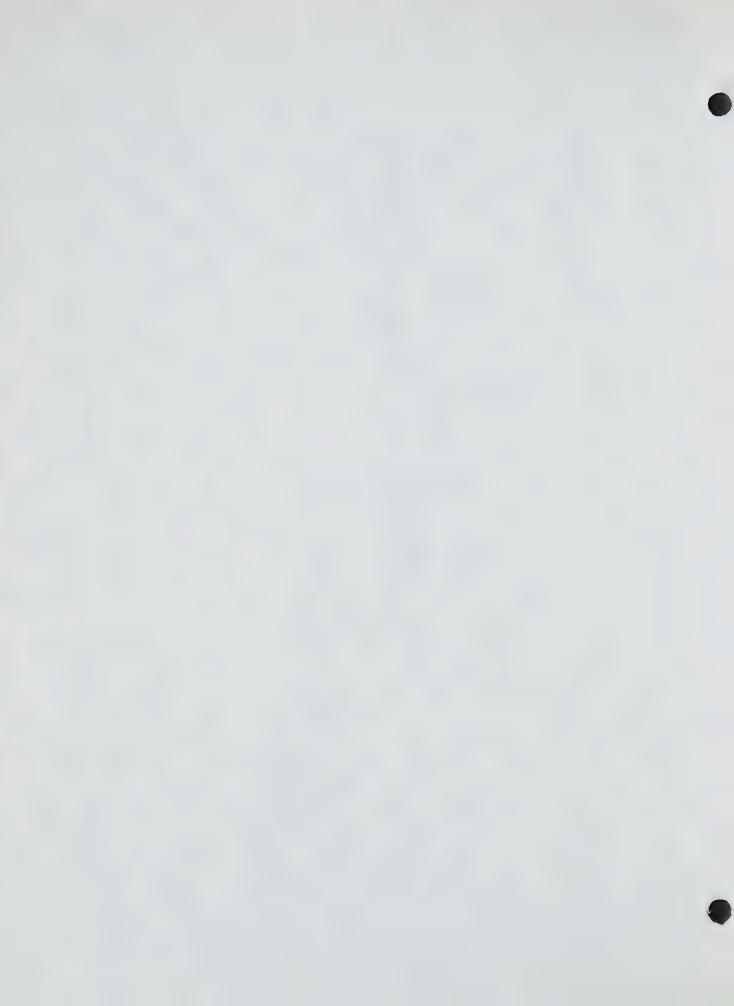
The findings summarized in Table VI will be summarized and interpreted in the paragraphs which follow. First, however, there are two aspects of the table which must be commented on briefly. The first is that although the variable "Ownership of Canadian Property" would seem to be an appropriate index of economic adjustment, it now appears that it is also an index of retention of Italian peasant values. The reason for this is that "land hunger" and the desirability of land ownership is an extremely strong value in the Italian peasant culture. By contrast the surban middle class culture tends to evaluate a number of other values, such as education and style of life more highly than mere property ownership. Other cross tabulations performed in this study confirm this reasoning. This is the reason why the relationships between the independent variables and ownership of Canadian property are reversed in comparison with other indices of economic adjustment.

The second part of the table which requires some explanation is the three occupational mobility indices, which show some apparently



contradictory interrelationships with some of the independent variables. These indices were constructed as follows: the "mobility compared with father" index was obtained by comparing the man's current occupational category, according to Hollingshead's scale, with the comparable scale category of his father, and scoring his mobility as upward, unchanging, or downward. "The mobility compared with last Italian position" was similarly scored by comparing the man's current occupational category with the category of his last position in Italy. The "mobility compared with first Canadian position" was scored by comparing the man's current work category with that of his first job in Canada. These indices clearly measure different kinds of mobility. The last measures mobility since arrival in Canada. The second compares his Canadian with his Italian occupational status, and the first compares his occupational level with that of his father. There are several reasons for the discrepancies between these three measures. One is that most subjects held low level first positions following their arrival in this country: thus, this measure reflects no downward mobility. But the higher a subject's last Italian occupation, and the higher the occupation of his father, the less is the probability that he can move up and the more the probability that he may move down following his arrival in Canada. This is the reason why the occupation of the father correlates negatively with mobility compared with father and mobility compared with last Italian occupation, and why last Italian occupation correlates negatively with mobility compared with last Italian occupation in Table VI.

We may now go on to summarize the relationships between the economic adjustment variables and the pre-migration variables, found in Table VI. The data show that being unemployed is statistically



significantly more characteristic of younger, and unmarried men, of those from Southern and rural areas of Italy, from a lower class background as indicated by the subject's father's occupational level, and by his own level of education and of last employment in Italy. Unemployment is also directly associated with neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation, but not with Italian chauvinism or frequency of church attendance.

Level of income is significantly associated in a curvilinear fashion with age of the man or husband such that older men made both higher and lower incomes than did younger men. It is also significantly directly associated with being married, from Northern and urban areas of Italy, with being from a higher class background as indicated by all three indices—level of father's occupation, of subject's educational attainment and of his last employment in Italy. Income is also inversely associated with neuroticism and dogmatism, for both men and women and with alienation and frequency of church attendance for men only. It is not significantly associated with Italian chauvinism scores.

Higher level employment of the man is significantly more characteristic of younger and unmarried men than of older married men. It is also significantly associated with being from urban, and Northern areas in Italy, with all three indices of Italian social class position. It is inversely associated with chauvinism scores, but not with neuroticism, dogmatism, or alienation scores, or with frequency of church attendance.

In general there is a consistent pattern of relationships between the three mobility measures and the independent variables. Upward mobility is characteristic of younger and single men and of those from



rural backgrounds (because they could only move upward) on all three measures, and of those from the North of Italy on one measure. Mobility in comparison with the man's first job in Canada is directly associated with all three indices of higher social class position in Italy. Also, educational level is directly associated with all three mobility measures. However, the relationship between level of father's occupation, and mobility in comparison with the father's occupation and with the last position in Italy is an inverse one because those with peasant fathers have tended more frequently to improve their occupational positions than those whose fathers were more occupationally advanced. All three indices of mobility are inversely associated with frequency of church attendance and with Italian chauvinism scores, but only two of the nine possible relationships between the mobility measures and the neuroticism, dogmatism and aleination scores are significant.

Ownership of Canadian property is significantly more characteristic of older and married men, of those from rural parts of Italy, from lower Italian social class backgrounds as indicated by all three indices. It is directly associated with higher chauvinism and neuroticism scores, but inversely associated with higher dogmatism scores. It is unrelated to alienation scores or to frequency of church attendance.

It is clear that a definite pattern of relationships exists between the economic adjustment and the pre-migration independent variables. Full-time employment and higher incomes are characteristic of older married men from higher class backgrounds in Northern and urban parts of Italy who have low neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores.



High level current Canadian employment shows much the same pattern except that it is unrelated to the personality measures and is more characteristic of younger, and single men. Upward mobility is characteristic of younger single men from rural areas in Italy, who have good educations, low chauvinism scores and low frequencies of church attendance. Ownership of Canadian property shows a distinctly different pattern of associations since property owners are more often from lower class rural Italian backgrounds and tend to have high chauvinism and neuroticism scores and low dogmatism scores.

In summary, good economic adjustment among Italian immigrants living in Edmonton is most frequently achieved by younger and according—ly unmarried men from urban, Central and Northern areas whose fathers were in semi-skilled and skilled work categories, rather than farmers or laborers, and who had received a grade seven education or better, and who had held higher skilled positions in Italy. Although personality variables appear not to be so predictive as the other pre-migration variables (and although they may well reflect post-migration influence) the data also suggest thatthose who make a good economic adjustment tend to be less frequent in church attendance, have less strong Italian chauvinism feelings, and low neuroticism and dogmatism tendencies, in contrast with those who score less high on the economic adjustment indices.

5.1. Post-Migration Variables and Economic Adjustment of Sample Members. There are five sets of post-migration variables whose relationships to the economic adjustment of sample members were explored: ecological variables, interpersonal interactional variables, cultural



exposure variables, social class variables, and personal variables. The relationships are summarized in Table VII. The data show that full-time employment is associated with living outside of the Italian community, with having non-Italian close friends and few relatives in Edmonton and with intermarriage of self- or siblings. It is associated with lengthy residence in Canada, with reading English publications, not reading Italian papers and infrequent watching television. It is also associated with being a naturalized Canadian and having high participation scores.

Earning a high income is not related to area of residence in Edmonton. It is associated with having close non-Italian friends and few relationships with relatives, and with lengthy residence in Canada. It is associated with intermarriage of self or siblings among male respondents, with reading English publications, with not reading Italian papers and infrequent watching of television. High income is associated with respondents mentioning the radio as a source of information, whereas low income is associated with mentioning people and the church as sources of useful information. High income is associated with being a naturalized citizen among men only, having high participation scores, high level of current Canadian employment, and of course, with the upward mobility measures.

Current employment in a high level position is associated with living in the non-Italian areas of the city, with having non-Italian close friends, having few relationships with relatives, and with intermarriage of self or siblings. It is associated with lengthy residence in Canada, with reading of English publications, but not with any of the other cultural exposure variables. It is also associated directly



TABLE VII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND: ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT INDICES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE

RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

pared with Last Italian Job Mobility Compare pared with Firs Canadian Job Occupawith Father's Mobility Com-Annual Income Owns Canadian Mobility Comtional Level Employment Canadian Current Relationships of Indices + + + + + Economic Adjustment Post-Migration Variables Ecological -5% 0 0 0 +1% -5% 0 Lives in Italian Comm. Interpersonal Interaction +1% 0 +1% +.1% -.1% +1% +.1% Non-Italian Friends -1% -2% 0 -2% -1% 0 -5% Relatives in Edmonton 0 -5% -1% 0 -5% 0 0 Close Italian Relations 0 -2% +1% 0 +5% +1% +5% Ego-Sib Intermarriage Cultural Exposure +1% +1% +.1% 0 +2% 0 Duration of Can. Resid. +1% -5% -1% 0 0 0 Reads Italian papers -1% Ò +.1% 45% -.1% +.1% +1% +1% +.1% Reads English papers -5% +.1% +1% +1% +1% +1% Reads Italian/English mag. +5% 0 -5% 0 0 0 -5% 0 Freq. Watching T.V. Sources of Information 0 +5% 0 0 0 0 0 Radio 0 0 -5% 0 0 0 0 People 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 School -5% 0 0 -5% 0 0 -5% Church 0 -5% 0 15% 0 0 0 Number of Sources of Info Social Class -5% 15% -.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% Level of 1st Can. Job +1% +.1% +.1% -5% +.1% +1% R +.1% Level of Current Can. Job +5% -5% R R R Mobility Comp. w/Father R +.1% 0 -1% R R R Mobility Comp w/last It.J. +1% R +2% +5% +1% +5% +5% +.% +.1% Participation Score 0 0 +5% 0 +5% 0 +1% Is Naturalized

a+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.



with being a naturalized citizen, with high participation scores, and with level of the man's first job in Canada.

None of the three mobility indices are associated with area of residence in Edmonton. Upward mobility on all three indices is directly associated with having non-Italian close friends and with few relationships with relatives. Upward mobility indices in two of the three cases are directly associated with intermarriage of self or siblings, and with lengthy residence in Canada for men only, and furthermore it is associated with reading English publications for all three indices. The only other association between the mobility variables and the indices of cultural exposure is that mentioning church as a source of information is inversely associated with upward mobility for two of the three measures.

Upward mobility is directly associated with participation scores for all three mobility indices but being a naturalized Canadian citizen is associated with upward mobility only for mobility as compared with the man's first occupation in Canada.

Ownership of Canadian property is directly associated with living in the Italian community, and inversely associated with having non-Italian close friends and with intermarriage of self or siblings. It is unrelated to having close relationships with Italians. Ownership is directly associated with duration of Canadian residence, and inversely associated with the reading of both English and Italian publications, and with mentioning many sources of information. Ownership is unrelated to naturalization, but it is related in a curvilinear fashion to participation scores such that property owners have both high, and low



participation scores. Ownership is inversely related to the man's current occupational level and with both mobility indices.

In summary, it is clear that again property ownership is associated with a different pattern of relationships in contrast to the other economic variables. If we consider only the latter, it is clear that reading English publications and formation of close relationships with non-Italians, either as friends or mates, are the independent variables most strongly associated with indices of good economic and occupational adjustment. Duration of Canadian regidence is also associated with good adjustment, but not as consistently as one might have expected. Residence in non-Italian areas of the city is associated with full-time employment and with high occupational level employment. The significance of having many sources of information, as well as of specific sourcestelevision, radio, and the school--were megligible. Dependence on the church as a source of information was associated with a less adequate economic adjustment. Naturalization is associated directly with four of the six indices of economic adjustment and high participation scores are directly associated with all six indices. The relationships between the social class indices and the measures of occupational adjustment are all spurious.

By contrast with this pattern, ownership of property is associated with living in the Italian community, with not having close relationships with non-Italians, with not reading either English or Italian publications, with few sources of information and with low level current occupation and low mobility. The only points of similarity with the other pattern is that property owners have been long-time residents of



Canada, and some of them do have high participation scores.

PRE- AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

As noted earlier, we are interpreting "social adjustment"

narrowly in this study, meaning only the ability of the subject to form

close personal friends in his adoptive country, thus relieving the lone—

liness of his strangerhood. Other aspects of his social relationships

and social life will be treated under the heading of social integration,

since they are indicative of the depth of his penetration into the larger

Canadian community. Accordingly, in this section we shall deal with

only four indices of social adjustment. The first is the number of close

friends reported by the respondent. The other three are attitude items

relating to feelings of loneliness: "Sometimes I feel alone in the world,"

"I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like," and

"There are few dependable ties between people any more."

5.2. Pre-Migration Variables. The interrelationships between the social adjustment indices and the pre-migration variables are found in Table VIII. The data show that having fewer close friends is significantly characteristic of males, of those from urban areas and from the North of Italy, of those from higher class Italian backgrounds as indicated by father's occupation, level of educational attainment, and level of the subject's (husband's) last position in Italy. Of the personality variables it is associated only inversely with alienation. The attitude items show no consistent pattern of relationships with the independent variables. Southern and rural Italians express more loneliness than do Northern and urban Italians. Dissatisfaction with invitations

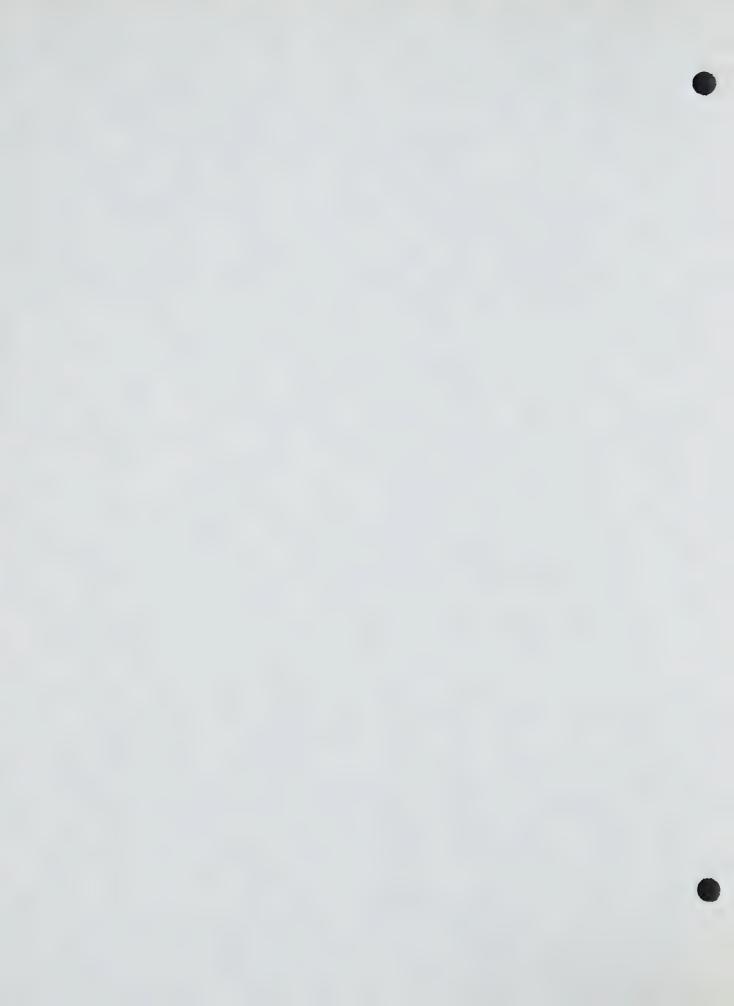


TABLE VIII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP³ AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Social Adjustment Variables		mbe <mark>r of</mark> e Friends	Fee in			't Get ited O		Depen- ole Ties
Relationship of Indices of Social Adjustment Pre-Migration Variables Demographic	o		All (March and All Commission an		naman pinggapatan salam akamah. Alia gi Milating gaggap.	etto		dine
Age		0		0		+5%		0
Sex Marital Status	Male	-1% 0	Male Marr.		Male		Male Marr.	-1%
Ecological		m o.l			* * *	=0/		_
Rural-Urban Origins North-South Origins	Urban South			0	Urban South	-5% +1%		0
Social Class Education		-5%		0		-5%		0
Occupation of Father Man's last It. Occup.		-5% -1%		0		-5% -5%		0
Personality		2,0				-,-		
Frequency of Church Atte Chauvinism Neuroticism Dogmatism Alienation	en.	0 0 0 0 -1%		0 0 +.1% +.1% +.1%		+1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1%		0 +5% +5% 0 +.1%

 $a_{+} = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; <math>\pm = curvilinear$ relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.



received is characteristic of those from lower class backgrounds and of those who attend church frequently and have high chauvinism scores. The latter is also associated with the feeling that there are few dependable ties between people. People scoring high on the neuroticism, dogmatism and alienation scales tend to make loneliness reflecting responses to the three attitude items.

In summary, although the pattern of relationships is a rather spotty one, it seems clear that a Southern Italian background is associated with having many friends and with loneliness feelings. Variables associated with higher Italian social class are negatively related to both number of friends and to the expression of feelings of loneliness. Indications of personal maladjustment are positively associated with expression of feelings of loneliness.

the social adjustment indices and the post-migration variables are found in Table IX. The data show that living in the Italian community is associated both with having very many and very few close friends.

Number of friends is unrelated to having close non-Italian friends, but it is directly associated with having close relationships with relatives and with intermarriage of self or siblings. It is also associated with long residence in Canada, and with reading English magazines, but not newspapers. Having many friends is associated with having many sources of information and with citing both the church and the school as important sources. It is not associated with level of the man's first job in Canada or with his current occupational level, but it is directly associated with two measures of upward mobility. It is inversely



TABLE IX

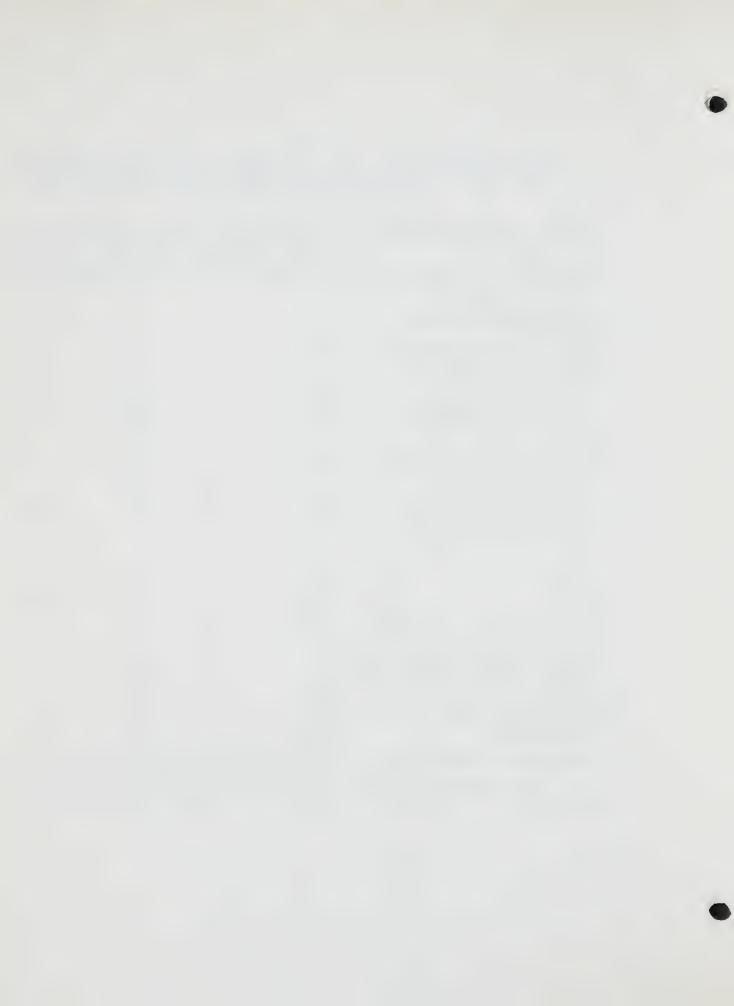
INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION

VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE MARKET OF THE PERATIONSHIPS AND

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

<u> </u>	mber of e Friends		Don't Get Invited Out	
Relationship of Indices to				
Social Adjustment	+	nan .	-	****
Post-Migration Variables				
Ecological				
Lives in Italian Community	±5%	. 0	+.1%	0
Interpersonal Interaction				
Non-Italian Friends	0	+5%	1%	0
Relatives in Edmonton	+1%	0	+.1%	0
Close Italian Relations	+2%	0	+1%	0
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	0	-5%	-5%	0
Cultural Exposure				
Duration of Canadian Resid.	+1%	0	-1%	0
Reads Italian papers	0	0	-5%	0
Reads English papers	0	-2%	- 5%	. 0
Reads Ital/Eng magazines	+5%	0	0	-2%
Frequent Watching T.V.	0	0	0	0
Sources of Information				
Radio	0	0	0	0
People	0	0	0	0
School	+5%	0	- 5%	0
Church	+5%	0	0	-1%
Number of Sources of Inform.	+.1%	1%	±.1%	0
Social Class				
Level of 1st Canadian job	0	0	0	0
Level of current Canadian job	0	0	-5%	0
Mobility compared w/father	+5%	-5%	±5%	0
Mobility compared w/last It. jo	b +5%	0	0	0
Participation score	±5%	1%	-2%	0
Is Naturalized	1%	0	1%	-1%

 $a_+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; <math>\pm = curvilinear$ relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.



associated with naturalization and associated in a curvilinear fashion with participation scores such that high scoring subjects infrequently have very many friends or very few friends.

Of the three attitude items, the one suggesting that there are few dependable ties between people was so infrequently associated with any of the independent variables that it will not be discussed. Although it is the "dissatisfaction with invitations" item rather than the "feel alone" item which is more frequently associated with the independent variables these will be referred to as "loneliness items" in the interests of conciseness. Loneliness responses are more characteristic of those who live in the Italian community, of those who do have close relationships with relatives and do not have close non-Italian friends. Such responses are not associated with intermarriage of self or siblings, nor with long term residence in Canada; nor with the reading of English or Italian publications. They are characteristic of those having few sources of information, of those who are not upwardly mobile when compared with their father's occupations, and of those not naturalized or those with low participation scores.

In summary, having many friends was associated with being a naturalized, long-time resident of Canada who had close relationships with relatives, was upwardly mobile, had many sources of information—especially traditional Italian sources such as people and church. Some of these same independent variables were also, perplexingly, associated with dissatisfaction with invitations, for example, having close relationships with relatives. Others were associated with satisfaction with invitations; having non-Italian close friends, reading English and Italian publications, having a higher level current occupation, being naturalized and having high participation scores.



It is rather difficult to confidently interpret the data which have been presented above in terms of social adjustment. It appears that two orientations to life may be reflected in our data; an Italian peasant orientation which places a high value on many close personal relationships, and a "middle class" orientation which implies involvement in other interests and the formation of fewer friendships. These differences in orientation are reflected in our data. Other questionnaire data indicate that better educated subjects, and those with higher occupational status both in Canada and Italy indicated less involvement with family, large numbers of friends, less interest in visiting, home improvement, leisure time activities, and more interest in hobbies and reading. There are indications in the data also that there is a withdrawn, alienated group, cowering within the Italian community, as it were, who have no close friends.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

There are eleven items of data which have been drawn from the interview schedule and used as indices of personal adjustment. Four are scores which have been discussed earlier: the neuroticism score, dogmatism score, anomie score and alienation score. The remaining seven are items, most of them drawn from the four scales just mentioned, which are included because of the specific adjustment issues which they deal with. Two deal with attitudes toward the future, two deal with relationships with people and three deal with the ability to direct one's own life.

There are response differentials between different age and sex



groups for most of these personal adjustment indices, as the data in Table X show. Age differences are tied to sex; maladjustment suggesting responses were more frequently made by older men in contrast to younger men, and by younger women, in contrast to older women. Although women indicated more maladjustment than men on four items—neuroticism, "fear of the future," "no choice" and "no definite rules to live by,"—men indicated more maladjustment than women on three items—"dismal future," dogmatism, and "solve my problems."

There is one significant relationship between marital status and personal adjustment indices. The apparent relationship of married status with higher anomie scores is in fact accounted for by the fact that the single group is predominantly male, and young men had lower anomie scores than did older men and than women did.

None of the relationships between rural-urban background and the personal adjustment indices were significant. However, subjects from Northern Italy, in contrast to those from Southern Italy, responded to five items in ways indicative of less maladjustment. These items were neuroticism, dogmatism, "count on whom," "solve my problems," and "no choice."

The Italian social class indices were but slightly related to the indices of personal adjustment. Occupation of the father and the subject's (husband's) last occupation in Italy were not significantly associated with any of the criterion indices. Education was significantly associated with six of the indices: neuroticism, dogmatism, plan for future, count on whom, people change, and no choice. In all cases higher level of education was associated with the less maladjustment suggesting response.



TABLE X

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

No Personal Choice	20 contramentation of the contramentation of	29	77	% 7 0	>	0	-5%		0	-5%	0		0	0	45%	+2%	+.1%	+.1%
	SUCCESSION OF THE PROPERTY OF	old	men	S			No											
Someone to Solve my Problems	MCD WITH THE THE PARTY OF THE P		0	M+1%)	0			0	0	0		0	+,1%	2	9	**	+.1%
No Definite Rules	Company of the Compan		0	%[- \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	>	0	O No		0	0	0		0	0	0	0	+1%	+.1%
People's ideas	Been Confidency of Advantage of the Confidence o		41%	% T +	,	0	0		0	-5%	0		0	0	+1%	+,1%	+.1%	+.1%
			men														> 0	> 0
Count on Whom	S Control of the Cont		0	00	•	0	No-5%		0	-55%	0		0	0	+2%	0	4.19	+-1%
Fear Future	The state of the s	er	n +5%	パ 		0	0		0	0	0		0	+2%	七5%	+.1%	+ 1%	+ 1%
	A CALL A CALL A CALL A	young	Wome	Mer -1%		,												
Plan for Future	+		0	00		0	0		0	7%	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
noitenailA	Children Control (Alberta Alberta)	+	% 7	00			0		0	0	0		12%	0	% T	+.1%	+.1%	Œ
and Commission of Commission o	CONTRACTOR OF TRACTOR	+	-1%	ت ا ا ا ا ا		O Ur	0		9	9	0		0	七5%	+1%	0	+.1%	+.1%
Anomie	TOTAL STANSFORM	Voung W	Old W	Marr.														
Dogmatism	Powerfulne van in de de fatte fatte de					9	10-5%		0	-5%	0		0	+1%	41%	+.1%	æ	+.1%
Meuroticism			0	%C+ W %C- uəw		-0 Ur +0	-1% No-5%		유 유	~ - 	0		0	0	+1%	œ	+,1%	+ 1%
	ب 2 ا					Ë	S S						Att.					
Indices to	Relationship of Indices to Per- sonal Adjustment	Demographic	٠.	sex Marital Status	Ecological	Rural-Urban	- E.	Social Status	Occup. Father	Education	Last It. Occ.	Personalıty		Religiosity	Chauvinism	Neuroticism	Dogmatism	Alienation
Relationship of	Rel In So	Dem	Age	Mar	Eco	Ru	No.	Soc	0	Eo	La	Per	H	Re	C	Ne	Do	Al



There were significant response differentials between respondents by their ratings of their own religiosity on four items: dogmatism, anomie, fear of future, and solve my problems. In all cases the more religious respondents fell in the more maladjusted categories. Reported frequency of church attendance was significantly related to only one index, and this in a curvilinear fashion. Those who attended infrequently tended to score both higher and lower on alienation than those who attended more frequently.

Next to age and sex, Italian chauvinism was the independent variable which was most frequently significantly associated with the personal adjustment variables. It was associated with eight, and in all cases high chauvinism correlated with maladjustment reflecting responses. The eight indices were neuroticism, dogmatism, anomie, and alienation scores, "fear of future," "no choice," "people change," and "count on whom."

In summary, sex, age, chauvinism, education, region of origin, and religiosity were rather consistently associated with personal adjustment measures. Chauvinism, education, region of origin, and religiosity may all be taken as indexing Italian provincialism, since low education, more intense religiosity, and Southern Italian origins are all associated with peasant provincialism. In sum, then maladjustment is associated with femalesness, with elderliness in men and youthfulness in women, and with various indications of peasant orientation.

POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

5.4. Ecological Variables. The data summarized in Table XI indicate that residence in the Italian community in Edmonton is significantly



TABLE XI

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND BOST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

· ·	Neuro- ticism	Dogma-	Anomie	Aliena- tion	Plan for Future	Fear	Count on Whom	People's Ideas Change	No Defi- nite Rules	Someone to Solve My Prob.	No Personal Choice
Relationship of Indices of Personal Adjustment Post-Migration	CONTROL CONTRO	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		(India)	With the second		The state of the s		And of the second secon	Commence and the commence of t	The state of the s
Ecological Lives in Italian Com. Interpersonal Interaction	45%	45%	0	+2%	0	0	0	+1%	0	+ 1%	+1%
Friends	-5%	0	-2%	-1%	0	0	-1%	-5%	0	0	-1%
Relatives in Edmonton	0	+5%	0	-1 -1	0	0	0	0	0	45%	0
Close Italian Relatives	0	+5%	0	+5%	0	0	0	0	0	77%	0
	-5%	0	0	12%	0	0	0	-5%	0	0	77
Cultural Exposure						•					7
Duration of Can. Resid.	-2%	ار ار ار	15%	15%	0	1.1%	0	0	0	0	~2%
Reads Italian papers	0	0	-5%	0	0	우	200	0	0	우	0
English	1%	-1%	71%	75%	71%	0	1%	-2%	0	0	% 7
Reads Ital/Eng. magazines	-1%	1 %	96.1	1%	+.1%	0	-5%	-1%	0	-12%	ار ا
Frequent Watching TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sources of Information											,
Radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
People	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2%	1%	-5%	0	0
School	×1-	0	+5%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2%
Church	0	*Z+	0	0	0	0	0	11%	0	45%	0
Number of Sources of Inform.	1%	0	0	-5%	0	1%	0	-5%	0	0	1.1%
Social Class											,
Level of 1st Can. Job	0	-5%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Level of Current Can. Job	0	0	-5%	0	+1%	0	71%		0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w Father	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1%	0	0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	0 0	0	9	0	우	0	0	0	0	0	よ 次 ジ
Participation Score	-1%	0	75	-5%	+1%	0	0	0-	87.	七5%	1%
Is Naturalized	0	0	0	0	+5%	0	0	0	0	0	0
THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY O	A CARDAN PARTICULAR STATE CARDA CAPARA CAPAR	THE THE PERSON OF THE PERSON O	STACESTING TAAL WITTO ENQUESTEEN TOOLSTOOM PLANT	THE CANADA SAME SERVED AND THE CONTRACTORS OF THE C	DEFENDED IMPREE, JUST OLD PARTIES	CPURCHALING WASHINGTON	TO THE REAL PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR				

As in Table X, page 229.



associated with six of the eleven adjustment indices. These six are:
neuroticism, dogmatism, alienation, people change, solve my problems,
and no choice. In all cases living in the community is associated with
the more maladjustment suggesting response.

- 5.5. Interpersonal Interaction Variables. Of the four interpersonal interaction variables, having close non-Italian friends, relatives in Edmonton, the primary relations with Italians index and ego/sib intermarriage, the first is the one most frequently associated with the personal adjustment indices. Six of the twelve indices are associated with close friendship with non-Italians, and in all cases having non-Italian friends is associated with responses suggesting less maladjustment. These six are neuroticism, anomie, alienation, "count on whom, "people change," and no choice." Intermarriage of self or siblings was significantly associated with four of the personal adjustment indices. It was inversely associated with muroticism, "no personal choice," and "people's ideas change" and associated in a curvilinear fashion with alienation such that those who are intermarried have both higher and lower alienation scores than those who are not. The patterns of relations between the relatives in Edmonton, and the close relations, with Italians index and the decendent variables indices are the same in both cases. Having closer relationships with friends and relatives is directly associated with dogmatism, with wanting to find someone to solve their personal problems, and is inversely associated with alienation.
- 5.6. Cultural Exposure Variables. Cultural exposure variables were more frequently associated with personal adjustment than was any



other category. The measure which is perhaps one of the most important index of exposure to Canadian culture, duration of residence in Canada, was one of the variables which was most frequently associated with the personal adjustment indices. It was significantly associated with anomie, neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores, and with fear of the future, and no choice.

The most frequently significant of the eleven variables in this category were the two having to do with the reading of English magazines and newspapers which were associated with nine and eight of the adjustment variables respectively. Reading of English and Italian magazines was associated with all adjustment variables but "fear of future" and "no definite rules." Reading of English newspapers was associated with all but the above two and "solve my problems," In all cases the reading of English was associated with the better adjusted response, and mading no papers or magazines at all and/or reading of Italian magazines was associated with maladjusted responses. The fact that reading of Italian material did not differentiate between respondents on the adjustment variables is seen in the fact that the reading of Italian papers is significantly associated with the adjustment indices only for anomic scores and "count on whom!"

Here those who do read have lower scores more and disagree with the "count on whom" item /than those who do not.

The number of sources from which respondents obtain shelpful information is significantly associated with five of the adjustment indices and in all cases more sources is associated with responses indicative of better adjustment. It is significantly associated with neuroticism and alienation scores, "fear of future," "people change" and "no choice."



If we look at four specific sources of information, church, school, people, and radio, we find an interesting pattern of relation—ships. Since 85 per cent of the sample belong to the Italian Catholic church, the church may be considered as a more Italian source of information, whereas the school, clearly a Canadian institution may be considered a Canadian source. Similarly, people are likely to be an Italian source whereas radio is most likely to be a Canadian source, except when one of the two Italian language programs is available.

Church as a source of information was associated significantly with maladjusted responses to two indices and adjusted responses to one index. The first two were dogmatism acore and "solve my problems." The second was "people change". School as a source of information was associated significantly with maladjusted responses to one index and with adjusted responses to two indices. The first was anomie scores, and the last two were "no choice" and neuroticism scores.

People as a source of information were associated with the tendency to make adjustment indicating responses to two items, no definite rules and people change, and the maladjustment indicating response to "count on whom." Dependence on radio as a source of information was associated with none of the adjustment indices. Similarly, frequency of viewing television was not associated significantly with any of the indices.

5.7. Social class Variables. There was remarkably little association between the personal status variables and the personal adjustment variables. The man's current occupational status was directly associated with just two, anomie scores and "count on others,"

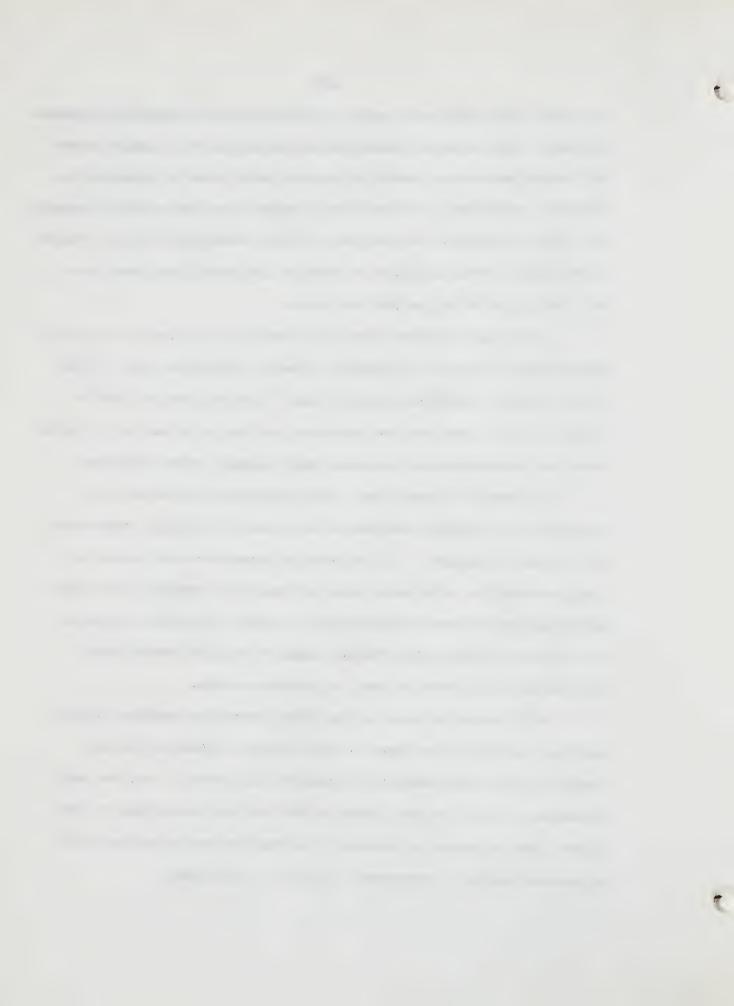


such that high status men tended to make adjustment suggesting responses. The man's first Canadian occupation was associated in a similar manner with dogmatism scores. Mobility compared with father's occupation was inversely associated with the "count on whom" item, and mobility compared with the last position in Italy was directly associated with the feeling of no choice. Naturalization to Canadian citizenship was associated with feeling able to plan for the future.

Participation scores were significantly associated with seven of the adjustment indices: neuroticism, anomie, alienation, plan for the future, "people change," no definite rules, "solve my problems," and no choice." In all cases but one, solve my problems, a higher participation score was associated with responses which suggest better adjustment.

In summary it seems clear that good personal adjustment as indexed by the various items used in this study is directly associated with cultural exposure. It is especially associated with reading of English materials, with having many sources of information; with broad participation in Canadian society, with length of Canadian residence, with living outside of the Italian community and with having close relationships with non-Italians, as friends or mates.

It is common to speak of the first generation immigrant settlement as coushioning the impact of the dominant culture on the new immigrant, and thus promoting his personal adjustment. Only two small evidences of this have been found in this section: dependence on the church, and on people, as sources of information was associated with adjustment indicating responses to a total of four items.



THE INDICES OF SATISFACTION WITH LIVING IN CANADA

Nine items were used as indices of satisfaction with living in Canada: a satisfaction score, four items from the satisfaction scale, an item dealing with criticisms of Canada, an item dealing with satisfactions in Canada, and two items dealing with the experience of discrimination in Canada. Each of these will be described in turn.

The most comprehensive of the indices is a composite satisfaction score based on the responses to five items. These items, and the score weights assigned to them, are found in Appendix II. The items dealt with whether or not the respondent: (1) was encouraging his relatives to come to Canada, (2) felt that his relatives envied him, (3) had considered returning to Italy, (4) planned to return to Italy, and (5) would again come to Canada, if he had it to do over again. The range of possible scores was from zero to ten, and the range of actual scores was the same.

Only four of these five items are also considered individually as indices of satisfaction in the analyses which follow. The first item, encouraging relatives to come to Canada, was omitted because it appeared that a variety of non-satisfaction types of influences might be operating to influence the respondent's behavior on this issue.

Another index of satisfaction was whether the subject gave an affirmative answer to the question, "Do you find that there are any outstandingly good things about life in Canada?"

Three items have to do with the subject's dissatisfaction with life



in Canada. One general index was whether the subject gave any criticisms in response to the question, "What is the most unpleasant thing you find about life in Canada. The last two dissatisfaction items had to do with the respondent's experience of discrimination in Canada. Subjects were asked, "How often have you felt discrimination against you because you are Italian?" and "How much would you say that you have been held back from getting ahead in life by discrimination against Italians?"

We shall consider the distribution of responses on these indices of satisfaction before going on to consider the interrelationships between response patterns and the pre- and post-migration variables.

Little can be said other than on an intra-sample comparison basis of the satisfaction score. The mean score of the 380 subjects for whom satisfaction scores could be calculated was 6.93. Since the maximum possible was 10.0 this score indicates a mean well above the theoretical mean (assuming a normal distribution) of 5.0. In fact, whereas only 10.8 per cent of the total scored between zero and four, 61.6 per cent of the sample scored between seven and ten. Thus, the scores were generally in the high range.

The distributions of actual responses to the items from which the satisfaction scale was scored are found in Table XII. The items which are most commonly reflective of satisfaction with Canada are those which inquire whether the subject has thought of returning to Italy, plans to return to Italy, and would again come to Canada if he had it to do over again. Three-fifths of the respondents expressed their satisfaction with Canada on these items. Forty-two per cent indicated that they



TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO COMPONENT ITEMS OF THE SATISFACTION SCALE, WITH PERCENTAGES

Do you have rel Canada? Would	atives in Italy you given the	aly? Would you ad nem financial help	vise them to co	me to
Number		es, no Assistance		No, with Assistance
Per Cent	46.8	1.3	40.3	11.6
Do you think yo	ur relatives	living in Italy e		
Number	293	Not Sure	Yes 81	
Per Cent	84.7	4.6	20.	7
Would you plan	to go back to No	Italy to stay? Not sure	Yes	To Retire
Number	263	4	113	20
Per Cent	65.8	1.0	28.3	5.0
Do you hope to	go back to It	aly forever?		
	Yes	Probably	Maybe	No
Number ·	29	33	113	236
Per Cent	7.1	8.0	27.5	57.4
If you had it to	do all over	again, would you	leave Italy?	
	Yes	Probably	Don't know	No
Number	259	18	52	81
Per Cent	63.2	4.4	12.7	19.8



were encouraging relatives to move to Canada, with or without the offer of financial assistance. Only one out of five respondents indicated that they felt their relatives envied them.

There are several different sources of information in the interview schedules as to specific sources of satisfaction and of dissatisfaction with life in Canada for the sample members. One small indication comes from answers to the follow-up question: "Why do your relatives envy you?" Four out of every five of the 75 subjects who answered this question indicated that it was the standard of living, especially ownership of car and home appliances which were envied. The next most frequently mentioned reason was educational opportunities in Canada, mentioned by 12 per cent.

Some insight into the dissatisfactions and frustrations with life in Canada comes from answers to the follow-up question, "Why have you thought of returning to Italy?" The most commonly cited reasons was homesickness, mentioned by 40 per cent of the 105 people who answered this question. Reasons involving friends or relatives were mentioned by 18 per cent, and preference for the Italian way of life by 14 per cent. No other reasons were mentioned by more than six persons.

A more explicit listing of the sources of satisfaction and of dissatisfaction in Canadian life is found in subjects' answers to the questions: "Do you find that there are any outstandingly good things about life in Canada (compared with other countries in which you have lived?" and "What is the most unpleasant thing you find about life in Canada?" Of the 395 subjects who answered the first question, 14 per cent responded "nothing." The advantage most frequently cited was the



high standard of living, mentioned by 53 per cent, and the next most often mentioned were the wealth of opportunities—in land, education, employment—available, cited by 13 per cent. Freedom and democracy were mentioned by 7 per cent and the egalitarianism of Canada was mentioned by four per cent.

Three hundred ninety-nine subjects answered the question about unpleasant things in Canada, and 23 per cent said nothing, a higher proportion than said there were no good things in Canada. The most frequent complaint, made by one-fifth of the respondents, was against the "blue laws" in Alberta, including Sunday closing of stores and amusement places and the prohibition on making wine. Equally frequent were complaints about climate and the weather. Language problems were mentioned by 12 per cent and unseemly Canadian behavior, including too much freedom for women and children were mentioned by 10 per cent. Loneliness was mentioned by only four per cent; employment problems were mentioned by four per cent. Discrimination was mentioned by only nine subjects, two per cent of the total.

Loneliness was spontaneously mentioned as a criticism of life in Canada by only 16 subjects but when subjects were given the opportunity to agree or disagree with the statement, "I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like," one-fourth of the 395 who responded agreed with it.

Only nine people mentioned discrimination spontaneously, but a little later in the interview when they were asked, "How often have you felt discrimination against you because you are Italian?" 118 people, 28 per cent, of the 413 respondents to this item indicated that they had



experienced it. Nineteen said they had experienced it "often,"
another nineteen "once in a while" and 78 said "just a few times." The
most frequent situation in which it was encountered was at work, mentioned by 60 per cent; from fellow workmen in most cases rather than the
boss. One-fourth said they encountered discrimination on the street and
in stores.

Subjects were asked, "How much would you say that you have been held back from getting ahead in life by discrimination against Italians?"

Fifty-three subjects indicated that they had been to some extent, but only nine said that it had been "very much."

These data suggest that although there are numbers of areas of life in Edmonton with which the members of the Italian community are discontented, there is not massive or general discontent. There is wide appreciation for the standard of living, the freedoms and the opportunities that are available here. And there is criticism of the weather, of some of the puritanism in Alberta laws, and of Canadian behavior which appears unseemly to Italians.

We shall now look at some of the relationships between these satisfaction indices and the pre-migration and post-migration characteristics of the sample members.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND SATISFACTION WITH LIVING IN CANADA

5.8. Demographic Variables. The summary of the significant relationships between the pre-migration variables and the satisfaction indices is found in Table XIII. Older subjects made higher satisfaction scores than did younger subjects. The highest scores were made by older women and the lowest scores were made by younger women. Younger



TABLE XXIII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SATISFACTION INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDIOTIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Experience Held Back Discrimination by Discri	Held Back by Discri- mination	Criticisms of Canada	Satis- faction in Can.	Compo- site Sat. Score	Thought of Plan to Return to Return Italy Italy	Plan to Return Italy	Rela- tives Envy	Would Migrate Again
Relationship of Indices to Satisfaction Pre-Migration Variables	0	•	1	+	+		ı	+	+
Age	0	0	• · /	0	+1%	+1%	+1%	-5%	0
Sex (All Men)	+.1%	+1%	+5%	1.8	0	0	0	0	0
Marital Status (Married) Ecological	0	1%	0	+2%	0	0	0	0	
Rural-Urban Origins	0		Rural-1%	đ	0	0	0	O Rur	r. +5%
North-South Origins Social Class	0		No +5% No	+1%	No -2% No	+1% No	+	0 No	45%
Education	45%	+71%	+1%	0	-1%	+5%	0	0	0
Occupation of Father	+5%	15%	15%	+1%	-1%	+1%	15%	0	0
Man's last Ital. Occup. Personality	*\$1 *\$2	0	+1%	45 %2	0	0;	45%	0	0
Frequency of Church Atten.	n. 0	0	0	0	0	-5%	Ф	0	0
Chauvinism	0	0	0	-5%	+5%	+5%	+2%	0	0
Neuroticism	0	0	+2%	-5% %0-	-5%	+1%	\$	15%	0
Dogmatism	+5%	+5%	0	0	-5%	0	5%	0	-15 %
Alienation	+1%	+5%	+.1%	1%	-2%	+2%	45%	0	71%

*+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; + = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.



subjects had more frequently thought of returning to Italy, more frequently planned to return to Italy, and less frequently said that they would come again if they had it to do over again. They believed that their relatives envied them less frequently than did older subjects. Younger women were most preoccupied with thoughts of returning to Italy. There are interesting age-sex differences in the reasons given for thinking about it by the 105 subjects who gave reasons. The most often cited reason was homesickness, and older women cited this significantly more frequently than any other age-sex group. Younger women more frequently mentioned the people at home and the cold weather as reasons, while men more often mentioned missing the way of life in Italy.

In response to the question about "the most unpleasant thing about life in Canada," men mentioned criticisms more often than women did, and older men mentioned them more often than younger men did.

There were sharp differences in the criticisms made by the different sexes. Men were most critical of the "blue laws," which were mentioned by one-third of them, and only about 11 per cent were critical of the weather. With the women, these proportions were reversed: 29 per cent mentioned the weather and only five per cent were critical of Sunday closing and related laws. Problems with language were mentioned by women (20 per cent) much more often than by men)(three per cent) and criticisms of insufficient government control of working conditions were mentioned only by men, in five per cent of the cases. For some reason which is not clear, criticisms of interpersonal relationships especially involving women and children were made most often by older men and youngerwomen—14 per cent each—whereas young men mentioned this in

eight per cent of the cases and older women mentioned it in five per cent of the cases.

Men tended generally to indicate more dissatisfaction than women; they listed more criticisms and fewer sources of satisfaction in Canada than women. They claimed more often than women to have experienced discrimination, and young men more often felt that they had been held back by discrimination. The only significant relationship involving marital status, the association of single status with being held back, is explained by the fact that almost all of the single people in the sample are young men.

5.9. Ecological Variables. The data show consistently that dissatisfaction with living in Canada was more characteristic of sample members who were from the North rather than the South of Italy. Their satisfaction scores were lower, and they more frequently indicated that they had thought of returning to Italy, and were planning to return to Italy. However, in response to the critical question, "If you had to do it all over again would you leave Italy?" a higher proportion of Northerners than Southerners said "yes." Northerners also more frequently mentioned the high standard of living here as an advantage of life in Canada. They also mentioned more criticisms than did Southerners, mentioning the "blue laws" especially frequently. Subjects from urban backgrounds responsed to these items significantly differently than those from rural areas in only two cases. They more frequently said that they would not again come to Canada if they had to do it over again, and they mentioned more criticisms of Canada, especially criticizing the



weather and the behavior of women and children in Canada.

association between being from a higher social class background in Italy and being more dissatisfied with life in this country, a pattern which is to be expected since the relative improvement in their situation after they came to Canada was not so great as it was for those from poorer backgrounds. Educational level and level of the father's occupation were consistently associated with lower satisfaction scores and more frequent thinking of, and planning to return to Italy, with making more frequent criticisms of Canada, and with claiming to have experienced discrimination and to have been held back by it. The specific criticisms they made with disproportionate frequency were of the "blue laws" and of the behavior of women and children. Infrequently mentioning of satisfactions with life in Canada was most characteristic of those whose fathers had the highest and the lowest level occupational positions.

The level of the subject's (husband's) last position in Italy was directly associated with planning to return to Italy and with listing many criticisms of Canada (especially criticisms of the "blue laws"). But it was also directly associated with mentioning many sources of satisfaction in life here.

5.11. Personality Indices. Frequency of church attendance was associated only inversely with having thought of returning to Italy.

In general, the remaining personality measures, the Chauvinism, neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores, are all directly associated with indices of dissatisfaction. They are consistently inversely associated



with satisfaction scores and directly associated with thinking of returning to Italy, planning to return to Italy, feeling that had they to do it over again they would not come to Canada, and with specifying criticisms of Canada. They were inversely associated with mentioning sources of satisfaction in life in Canada. The criticisms which high scorers mentioned disproportionately frequently included "blue laws," behavior of women and children, and the weather. The sources of satisfaction mentioned disproportionately frequently by those scoring low on the personality measures included the high standard of living and the many opportunities available in Canada. Those sample members with high dogmatism and alienation scores also more frequently claimed to have experienced discrimination and to have been held back by it.

In summary, it is apparent that a rather clear picture of the pre-migration characteristics which are associated with satisfaction with life in Canada. Those who are dissatisfied are men from the Northern areas of Italy, and to some extent from the urban areas, who come from higher class Italian backgrounds as indicated by their level of education and by the level of occupation of their fathers. They score high on the measures of characterism, neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation. Those who are well satisfied are more often women, from the Southern areas of Italy, from lower class Italian backgrounds, who have low scores on the personality measures. Two patterns thus appear to be reflected here. First, those from better Italian backgrounds have more reason to be relatively more critical because instead of experiencing a dramatic improvement in their situations—as do those from poorer Italian backgrounds—they may actually experience a worsening of their situation. Second, it seems probable that there is a pattern



of alienated and neurotic discontentment, which is indicated by high alienation, neuroticism and dogmatism scores. The reason for suggesting the existence of two such distinct patterns is that we have seen earlier in this chapter that there is a high association of high personality measure scores with indices of a poor Italian background; that is, with Southern rural origins, and low education, low level of father's occupation and of subject's (husband's) last occupation in Italy. In view of this pattern of associations we would expect satisfaction to be associated with either the Northern, higher class, low personality score pattern, or the Southern, lower class, high personality score pattern. In fact, we have seen that the pattern is split, and this suggests the existence of the two patterns.

POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND SATISFACTION WITH LIVING IN CANADA

- 5.12. Ecological Variables. The relationships to be discussed in this section are found in Table XIV. The data show that living in the Italian community is associated with lower satisfaction scores, and with claiming to have experienced discrimination. However, living in the non-Italian areas of the city is more often associated with the tendency of sample members to respond that if they had it to do over again they would not come to Canada.
- 5.13. Interpersonal Interaction Indices. In general, satisfaction with living in Canada tends to be associated with both having close non-Italian friends and having close relationships with relatives. Those who are most dissatisfied appear to be the social isolates who have close relationships with neither relatives, nor Italian friends, nor non-Italian

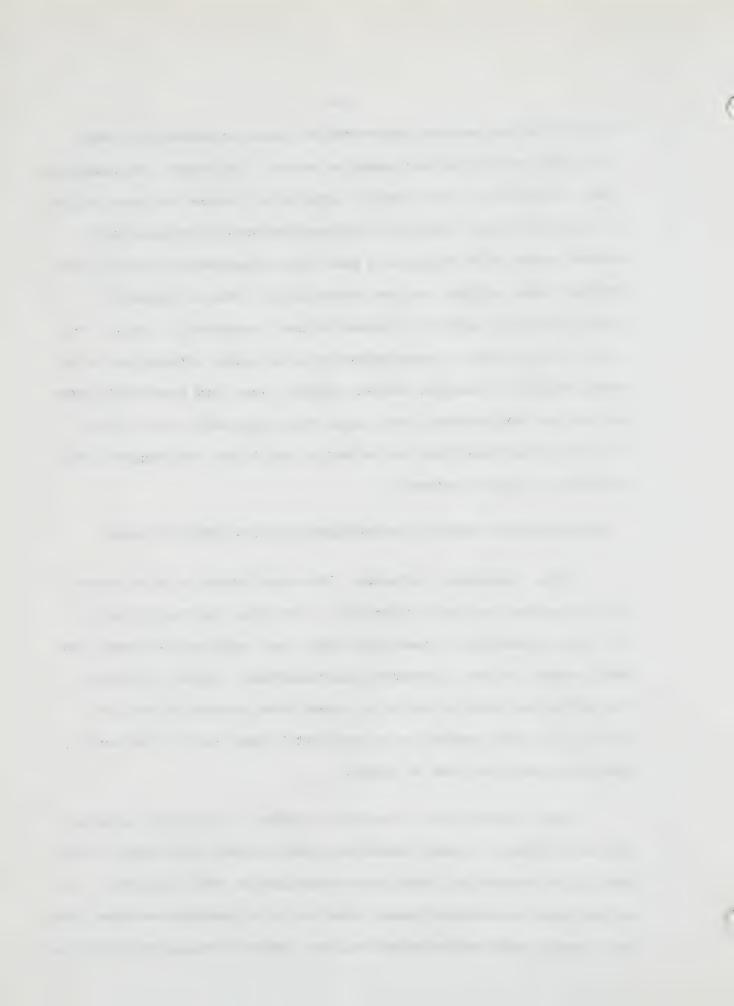


TABLE XIV

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SATISFACTION INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Experience Discrimina- tion	Held Back by Discri- mination	Criticisms of Canada	Satisfaction in Canada	Composite Satisfac- tion Score	Thought of Return to Italy	Plan to Return Italy	Rela- tives Envy	Would Migrate Again
Relationship of Indices t	to								
Satisfaction		ŧ		+ / .	+	•	•	+	+
Post-Migration Variables	,				,				
Ecologicals		•	•		200	•		•	70 81
Lives in Italian Community	ty +5%	0	0	0	20-	0	0	0	12%
Interpersonal Interaction					,	•			•
Non-Italian Friends	-1%	0	-5%	0	+5%	+.1%	+.1%	0	-1%
Relatives in Edmonton	-5%	0	-1%	0	71%	-1%	-5%	0	%
Close Italian Relations	0	0	-5%	0	+5%	718	0	0	0
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	45%	0	+1%	+5%	0	0		0	0
Cultural Exposure									
Duration of Canadian Resid.	id. 0	-5%	0	+1%	+1%	-5%	1%	0	+5%
Reads Italian papers	0	+2%	0	0	0	0	0	15%	0
Reads English papers	+.1%	+.1%	+1%	+1%	0	0	0	0	-2%
_	mag. +5%	0	+1%	+.1%	0	0	15%	0	0
Frequent Watching TV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sources of Information				,				•	1
Radio	0	0	0	15%	0	0	-1×	0	0 (
People	0	0	0	+5% %	0		+2% +2%	0	0
School	0	0	0	+5%	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-0. -0.	0
Number of Sources of Inf	Inform. 0	0	0	+.1%	0	-0% -0%	0	0	0
Social Class							(0	200
Level of 1st Can. Job	0	0	0	0	0	%I+	0	27	%
Level of current Can. Jo	Job 0	+1%	+1%	o d	0	0	0	0	၁ ်
Mobility comp/w Father	0	0	+1%	0	0	0	0	-2%	%I-
Mobility comp/w last It. Job	Job 0	+2%	+1%	-1%	-5%	0	0	% T	%I.
Participation Score	0	+5%	+1%	15%	+2%	-5%	0	-0%	40%
Is Naturalized	0	0	0	+,1%	+.1%	+.1%	-18	0	+2%

^aSee Table XIII, page 242.



friends. The data show that having close non-Italian friends is associated directly with high satisfaction scores, with not thinking of or planning to return to Italy, with subjects indicating that they would again come to Canada had they to do it over again, and is inversely associated with claiming to have experienced discrimination. Having close relationships with relatives is directly associated with high satisfaction scores, with not thinking of or planning to return to Italy, with subjects indicating that they would again come to Canada had they to do it over again, and inversely associated with claiming to have experienced discrimination and with making criticisms of life in Canada. However, it is not significantly associated with mentioning many sources of satisfaction with life in Canada.

5.14. Indices of Cultural Exposure. In one sense the primary index of exposure to the Canadian culture is the subject's duration of residence in Canada. The data in Table XV show that this index is rather closely associated with the satisfaction scores; it is also directly associated with not having thought of, or planning to return to Italy, with subjects indicating that they would again come to Canada had they to do it over again, and with mentioning sources of satisfaction with life in Canada, and inversely associated with subjects claiming to have been held back by discrimination. The remaining indices of cultural exposure are but sparsely and inconsistently associated with the satisfaction indices. The reading of English publications is associated with subjects indicating that they would again come to Canada, with the subjects claiming to have experienced discrimination and claiming to have been held back by discrimination, and with stating



TABLE XV

MEAN SATISFACTION SCORES BY DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA

		Length of Residence (Years)					
	Total	14+	10-13	7-9	5-6	3-4	2 years and less
Number	378	29	121	106	72	38	12
Mean	6.8	4 7.2	7.0	7.17	7.12	4.84	5.92



criticisms of life in Canada. The reading of Italian newspapers is associated directly with the subject's beliving that his relatives envy him, and with claiming to have been held back by discrimination. Having many sources of important information is inversely associated with thinking of returning to Italy, directly associated with mentioning many satisfactions from living in Canada. Citing the radio as an important source of valuable information was associated with not planning to return to Italy, but citing people as a source of information was associated with planning to return.

5.15. Social Status Indices. The relationships between the social status indices and the satisfaction indices are also rather spotty. The level of the subject's (husband's) first Canadian occupation is directly related to thinking of returning to Italy, and inversely related to the subject's indicating that he would again come to Canada if he had it to do over again. The level of the man's current occupation is also inversely related to his reporting that he would come to Canada again, and to believing that his relatives envy him. It is directly related to claiming that he had been held back by discrimination, and to making criticisms of life in Canada. The two measures of occupational mobility are inversely associated with satisfaction scores, with believing that his relatives envy him, with his indicating that he would again come to Canada if he had it to do over again, and with mentioning satisfactions in living in Canada. It is directly associated with claiming to have been held back by discrimination, and with mentioning criticisms of Canadian society.

Naturalization to Canadian citizenship is directly associated



with satisfaction scores, with mentioning sources of satisfaction from life in Canada, with subjects indicating that they would again come to Canada had they to do it over again, and also with having thought of returning to Italy; and inversely associated with having planned to return to Italy.

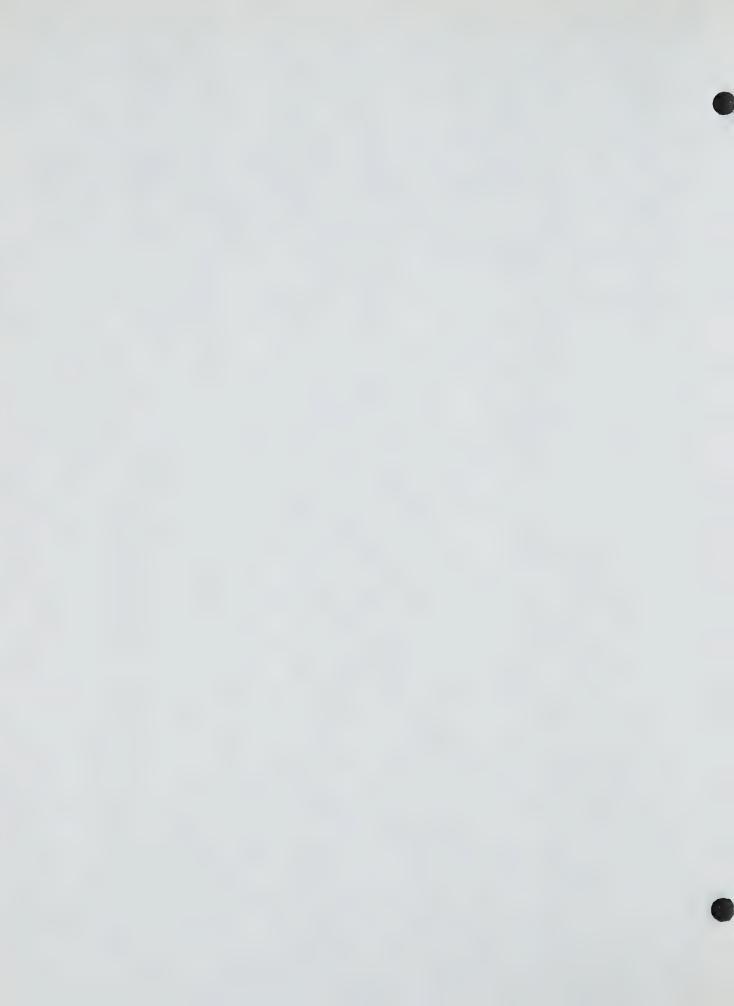
High participation scores are associated directly with satisfaction scores and with subjects indicating that they would again come to Canada had they to do it over again, and inversely with having thought of returning to Italy. However, they also associated directly with claiming to have been held back by discrimination, and with mentioning criticisms of Canadian society.

In summary, living in the Italian communtiy was associated directly with low satisfaction scores, but living in the non-Italian areas of Edmonton was associated with dissatisfied responses to two other items. Close relationships with relatives and with non-Italian close friends were both rather consistently associated with satisfaction reflecting responses to the criterion items. Duration of residence in Canada was also consistently associated with such responses. The other cultural exposure indices were but weakly associated with the criterion indices, and usually the relationship was such that greater exposure (intermarriage, reading English publications) was associated with dissatisfaction reflecting responses. None were significantly associated with the satisfaction scores. There were relatively few significant relationships between the social class indices and the satisfaction indices but almost all of those which were found, fifteen out of seventeen, suggested more dissatisfaction on the part of higher status



subjects. Thus, this pattern of relationships between satisfaction indices and the post-migration variables suggests that dissatisfaction is primarily associated with social isolation, with ecological, social and cultural integration, and with attainment of higher social class positions among the members of the sample. The reasons for this probably involve the following. Subjects with better Italian backgrounds have less reason to be uncritically enthusiastic about Canada, since their relative satisfaction is not as great as that of subjects from less fortunate backgrounds. Such subjects may, in fact, have encountered more discrimination since their arrival in Canada. They may also have the awareness and the sophistication to see valid faults in Canadian society, of which their less perceptive fellow countrymen remain unaware. And finally, they may more forthrightly state their criticisms, whereas their lower class and perhaps less confident fellows may keep more of their criticisms to themselves.

Whatever the reasons for it may be, the data do suggest more criticisms and more dissatisfaction among those members of the sample who are from better Italian backgrounds, who have higher scores on the personality measures, who are more successful, and better integrated and better acculturated in Canadian society. Nevertheless, duration of Canadian residence, naturalization, and to some extent, high involvement in Canadian society are associated with satisfaction responses on the satisfaction indices. Thus, apparently in the long run, feelings of satisfaction with the decision to come to Canada and with the conditions encountered here appear to become pre-eminent among those who have been in Canada for eight or more years and who have entered into the life of the society in which they find themselves.



CONCLUSIONS

It has become apparent, as the material presented in this chapter has unfolded, that there is much consistency in the patterns of relationships between the independent variables and the adjustment variables which we have described. It is the purpose of this concluding section of the chapter to describe this larger pattern of consistencies, and to discover the significance of it. We shall proceed by first describing the nature of the pattern, and then discussing any deviations from it.

A summary tabulation of relationships between the pre-migration variables and the adjustment and satisfaction indices is found in Table XVI. It shows that the pre-migration variables were related to adjustment in the following ways. The most frequently significantly related were the personality variables, followed by the Italian social class variables, the demographic variables and the ecological variables. fact, all of the pre-migration variables were frequently significantly associated with the adjustment variables, with the exception of frequency of church attendance, rural-urban background, marital status, and the man's last occupational level in Italy. The pattern of relationships may be easily described. In terms of personality variables, those well adjusted had low chauvinism, low neuroticisms, low dogmatism, and low alienation scores. In terms of social class variables, those well adjusted were well educated, had fathers having higher occupational positions, and themselves had higher occupational positions in Italy. No single pattern exists with respect to the relationship between the demographic variables and the adjustment indices. Northern Italian residence was significantly associated with many of the adjustment indices,



NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND INDICES OF ADJUSTMENT AND SATISFACTION

TABLE XVI

	Adjustment Areas				
	_			Satisfaction	
Total Number of Items Demographic /	4	7	11	9	
Age	1	7	5	5	
Sex	3.	-	7	5	
Marital Status	2	7	1	2	
Ecological					
Rural-Urban Origin	0	. 7	0	2	
North-South Origin	3	4	5	7	
Social Class		-	•	0	
Father's Occupation	2	. 7	6	8	
Education	2	7		5	
Level of Last Italian Occupa.	2		0	5	
Personality	. ,	2	1	2	
Frequency of Church Attendance	2	. 5	8	. 5	
Chauvinism	3	4	5	7	
Neuroticism	2		7	6	
	1	1	0		
Dogmatism Alienation	2 4	3	7	6 9	



and urban residence was associated with a few.

When we turn to the relationship between the pre-migration variables and the indices of satisfaction with life in Canada, we find a somewhat different pattern. The relationship between the personality measures and the satisfaction indices is the same as that between the personality measures and the adjustment indices, in that high scores are associated with maladjustment and with dissatisfaction. However, the relationship between the social class and the ecological variables and the satisfaction measures is the reverse of the relationships between these independent variables and the adjustment indices. While a higher class, irban, Northern Italian background was associated with good adjustment to Canadian society it is associated with dissatisfaction with Canadian society rather consistently on most of the satisfaction indices. The reasons for this are clearly the relative nature of satisfaction, and the greater sophistication of the higher class background respondents. Since this group came from better circumstances in Italy the improvement of their situations in Canada is not so great as is the improvement experienced by those from more poverty stricken Italian backgrounds. Thus, they are more critical than the latter. Moreover, their greater sophistication no doubt results in less uncritical acceptance of features which are deserving of criticism in the society than their less aware compatriots, and perhaps in more frank voicing of criticisms.

All categories of post-migration variables show strong and significant associations with the adjustment indices. As the distribution in Table XVII shows, the most powerful single independent variable is the participation score, perhaps a spurious relationship because of the fact of extensive participation may be seen as virtually synonymous with



NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND INDICES OF ADJUSTMENT AND SATISFACTION

TABLE XVII

	Adjustment				
	Social	Economic	Personal	Satisfaction	
Total Number of Items Ecological	4	7	11	9	
Live in Italian Community	2	3	6	4	
Interpersonal Interaction					
Non-Italian Friends	2 .	7	6	7	
Relatives in Edmonton	2	5	3	7	
Close Italian Relations	2	3	3	4	
Ego/Sib Intermarriage	2	5	4	4	
Cultural Exposure					
Duration of Canadian Residence	e 2	5	6	7	
Reads Italian papers	. 1	3	2	3	
Reads English papers	2	7	8	6	
Reads Italian/Eng. magazines	2	. 7	. 9	4	
Frequency Watching TV Sources of Information	0	2	0	0	
Radio	0	1	. 0	2	
People	0	1	3	2	
School	2	0	3	2 2	
Church	2	3	3	2	
Number of Sources of Informa.	3	2	5	3	
Social Class			•	~	
Level of 1st Canadian job	0	7	1	. 2	
Level of Current Can. Job	1	6	2	5	
Mobility Comp/w Father	3	. 5	1	5	
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	1	4	1	6	
Participation	3	7	7	7	
Naturalization	3	3	1	6	



adjustment to the new country. The ecology variable, living in the Italian community, is quite consistently associated with less adequate adjustment to Canadian society. Of the interpersonal interaction variables having close relationships with non-Italians, either as friends or as mates is associated with good adjustment, and close relationships with relatives is frequently associated with less adequate adjustment. Of the cultural exposure variables, lengthy residence in Canada, reading English publications, and having many sources on information are all associated with good adjustment. Looking to the church as a source of information and reading Italian newspapers are sometimes associated with good and sometimes with bad adjustment.

The indices of Canadian social class tend to show an association of higher class position with good adjustment. Being a naturalized citizen is somewhat inconsistently associated with good adjustment.

The pattern of associations between the post-migration independent variables and the indices of satisfaction with life in Canada is rather similar to that of the pre-migration variables, in that higher social class standing tends to be associated with dissatisfaction and lower standing is more associated with satisfaction. Having close relationships with relatives, which is more characteristic of lower class Italians in Edmonton, is associated with high satisfaction. High standing on the social class and upward mobility indices is rather consistently associated with dissatisfied responses to the satisfaction indices. Having close non-Italian friends and reading English publications is associated with ambivalent satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Lengthy residence in Canada, being a naturalized citizen, and having high



participation scores are all associated with satisfaction.

More close examination of Table XVI shows that there is an interesting patterning of kinds of pre-migration variables with kinds of areas of adjustment. Age is closely associated with personal and economic adjustment and with satisfaction, but not with social adjustment. Rural-urban background is closely associated with economic adjustment, with those from urban areas better adjusted, but it is unrelated to personal or social adjustment, and it is infrequently associated with satisfaction. By contrast, the region of Italy from which respondents came is less frequently associated with economic adjustment, and more associated with the other three aspects of adjustment. Father's occupational level and the man's occupational level are unrelated to personal adjustment but they are related to the other three aspects, and education is significantly related to all four aspects of adjustment. Neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores are less frequently related to the economic adjustment indices than to the other three aspects of adjustment.

Examination of Table XVII shows more interesting variations in the pattern of associations, although not as many as among the premigration variables. Living in the Italian community is less frequently associated with economic adjustment than it is with the other three aspects of adjustment. Having close relationships with relatives is less frequently associated with personal adjustment than it is with the other three aspects. Having many sources of information, and looking to the school as a source of information, are both less frequently associated with economic adjustment and with satisfaction than they are



with personal and social adjustment. All of the indices of Canadian social status are frequently associated with economic adjustment, and with satisfaction, but little associated with personal or social adjustment. Being a naturalized citizen is more associated with satisfaction than it is with the other three aspects.

This pattern of differential associations which has been described is rather what one would expect. Age is unrelated to social adjustment. Rural-urban background is related only to economic adjustment. Both the pre- and the post-migration social class indicators are unrelated to personal and social adjustment but not to satisfaction and to economic adjustment. Personality characteristics are unrelated to economic adjustment but not to the other three. Level of educational attainment is significantly associated with all four types of adjustment, whereas frequency of church attendance is associated with none. Residence outside the Italian community is associated with economic adjustment but not with the other three types. Having close relationships with relatives is unrelated to personal adjustment but it is associated with other types of adjustment. Many sources of information, and the school as a source of information, is associated with personal and social adjustment. Being a naturalized citizen is associated only with satisfaction Canada. Duration of residence in Canada is associated with all four types of adjustment.



CHAPTER VI

INTEGRATION INTO CANADIAN SOCIETY

Our interest in the last chapter was basically in the questions,
"How well are the Italian immigrants in Edmonton 'getting by, '?" and
"How well satisfied are they with how they are getting by?" We found
that in terms of economic, social, and personal adjustment the largest
proportion of the sample members were getting by very well indeed. We
also found that although they have very explicit criticisms to make of
some aspects of Canadian society which they have encountered, in general
they were very appreciative of many of the advantages which they have
here. Only 20 per cent indicated that if they had it to do over again
they would not come to Canada.

But the process of changing from a newly arrived immigrant to a settled citizen of the new country is more than just learning to get by. It is a process of penetrating many different spheres of interest and activity in the new country and involving oneself in these, and in time building some aspects of these into oneself, as well as making contributions to some of these areas. It is a process of integration in which the immigrant involves himself progressively more deeply, in more areas of the life of the new society. We speak of this as integration, rather than assimilation, because the latter implies a remolding of the immigrant into the image of the host society, with a loss of his identifying characteristics. Integration, on the other hand, implies that both immigrant group and host society are changed by the association with each other, such that the immigrant group does not completely lose its

entre en la viertime de la companya de la viertime La viertime de la vie own cultural identity, and the cultural amalgam of the host society is changed as well.

It is with the integration of Italian immigrants into the Edmonton, and the larger Canadian scene, in this sense, that we are concerned in this chapter. Because there are so many facets of life within which integration or non-integration can takeplace, the data are presented under seven headings in this chapter. Here, as in the last chapter, we shall follow the pattern of first presenting a descriptive section in which the distribution of the sample relative to the integration variables is outlined, and then an analytic section in which the relationship between pre-migration and post-migration independent variables and the integration variables are discussed.

THE INTEGRATION INDICES

- 6.1. Ecological Integration. The basic ecological information available in this study has already been presented in Chapters I and II. There we saw that about 40 per cent of the sample have lived only in the area designated as the Italian community, and one-quarter have lived only outside of the community, with the remainder having lived in both. Less than one-fifth of the sample indicated that they were sufficiently dissatisfied with their living circumstances to want to move. The largest group of those who did, 46 per cent, wanted to leave Edmonton. Forty-one per cent wanted to move to, or within, the non-Italian community, and only 12 per cent wanted to move to, or within, the Italian community.
- 6.2. Social Integration. Social integration is here seen as having four basic aspects: Italian friendships, non-Italian friendships,

attendance at Italian and non-Italian social functions, and Italian and non-Italian associational memberships. We have noted earlier, in the social adjustment section, that a sizeable minority of the sample, 26 per cent, said that they had no close friends at all. The rate of interaction of the remainder with their Italian friends is rather low, from the perspective of the image of a tightly-knit Italian community. Half of the sample indicated that they saw their friends about three times a month or less, and only one in twenty said they saw their friends as often as every day. A smaller proportion, one-third of the sample, indicated that they had Canadian friends and most of them said they saw their Canadian friends less often than their Italian friends since 62 per cent saw them three times a month or less. But 10 per cent of those with Canadian friends indicated that they saw them every day. We may assume that friendships with Canadians were often less close than those with Italians, since only fifty-one, or seventeen per cent. of those who said that they had close friends, indicated that one or more of their three closest friends was Canadian. Most people interviewed believe that even more friendly interaction with Canadians was quite desirable since 90 per cent of them agreed with the statement, "It would be bettef for Italians if they got out and mixed more with other Canadians." It is noteworthy that if such mixing should lead to intermarriage with non-Italians, 60 per cent of the sample were of the opinion that it should not be discouraged.

The data indicate that only a minority of the sample ever "go to social events" organized either by Italians or non-Italians.

Attendance at such events was slightly more common when they were organized

by Italians than by non-Italians, but the proportions are close-57 per cent and 65 per cent. The median frequencies of attendance at both Italian and Canadian social events are the same, about once every two months. But the frequency of attendance at Canadian events by those who go to them is greater than at Italian events, no doubt because there are many more of the former taking place in the city. Thirty-five per cent of those who go to Italian events attend three times a year or less, while such infrequent attendance is found among only one-quarter of those who go to Canadian events. The remarkable thing here, perhaps, is the indication of the low level of social integration among many members of the sample; with the very great plurality of Canadian over Italian social events in the city of Edmonton, the majority of those who do go attend the Italian events.

Membership in either Canadian or Italian associations was rare, including only 109 sample members or slightly over 25 per cent of the total. More accurately representative, however, is the fact that 42 per cent of the men belong to associations. If union memberships are is eliminated from the list, then the proportion/reduced to just 25 per cent of the men belonging to non-union organizations. Again, the low level of social integration present is reflected in the fact that, despite the large number of Canadian associations in the city, 20 per cent of the men belonged to Italian associations, and only 18 men-less than nine per cent of the total--belonged to Canadian associations.

6.3. Political Integration. Political Integration may be reflected in a number of ways: in voting behavior, in evaluations of the importance of political developments in the host society, and in the



emergence of self-conscious and critical political judgements and preferences. All three of these kinds of indices of political integration were used in the present study. Two items dealing with voting were included: "Did you vote in the last provincial election or were you unable to for some reason?" and the same item with respect to voting in the last general election. The criteria for voting in the provincial election are more liberal than those for voting in the general election since the minimum age requirement is 19 in the first case and 21 in the second. Our data show that 86 per cent of those members of the sample who were eligible to vote in the general election actually voted. The proportion for the provincial election was 69 per cent. These voting rates are higher than the rates for Edmonton as a whole, where the rates for the last two general elections have been about 76 per cent, and for the last two provincial lelections have been about 56 per cent. In the case of the general election, 11 people in the sample said they were physically unable to vote because of illness or absence, etc., whereas in the case of the provincial election, 44 people claimed this excuse, a rather incredible increase. Since political integration must include the learning of new patterns of apathy as well as of involvement, the lower rate of voting for the provincial election by sample members must be taken as a sign of their political integration.

Subjects were asked "How important are Dominion politics to you?"—"are Provincial politics to you?"—"are Municipal politics to you?" Their responses were classified as "very," "fairly," "not too," and "totally unimportant." Table I shows the distribution of responses to these questions. It is clear that most respondents are not interested



TABLE I

RATINGS OF IMPORTANCE OF POLITICS BY SAMPLE MEMBERS, WITH PERCENTAGES

Politics	Unimpor- tant	Not Too Important	Fairly Important	Very Important	Total
No	178	116	83	38	415
Dominion %	42.9	28.0	20.0	9.2	100.0
No	169	115	82	48	414
Provincial %	40.8	27.8	19.8	11.6	100.0
- No	151	88	32	94	415
Municipal %	36.4	21.2	19.8	22.7	100.0



in Canadian political developments at any level. But it is also clear that the more immediate the political sphere in question, the greater is respondent interest: two and a half times as many respondents indicated that they were "very interested" in Municipal politics as in Dominion politics.

The data on political preferences are a little hard to interpret. Subjects were asked: "Do you like the present provincial government or would you like a change?" and "Whom do you prefer in the Government: Peason, Diefenbaker, Douglas, or Thompson." These invitations to be critical of the Provincial and Federal Governments were apparently threatening to the respondents, since the non-response rates were high (29 per cent and 38 per cent for these two items). It is equally possible that an important reason for non-response was simply ignorance of the governments. At any rate, 47 per cent of the respondents indicated their dissatisfaction with the incumbent provincial government, and 21 per cent indicated their dissatisfaction with the incumbent Federal Government. In contrast to other Edmonton voters, our sample is atypical in terms of its low endorsement of the Provincial government, and its high endorsement of the Federal Government.

Two final political questions concerned satisfaction with existing representation in government for new Canadians. Subjects were asked, "Do you think it is important that there be MPs who are new Canadians to defend the interests of new Canadians?" and "Have you ever voted for a New Canadian candidate despite the fact that you did not like his party?" To the first question, an overwhelming 93 per cent of the 388 subjects who answered this question said "yes," but to the



second question only 18 of the 141 respondents to this item who are eligible to vote said yes. It seems probable that Italian voters may be just on the verge of increasing self-conscious political awareness.

6.4. Economic Integration. Our data on economic integration are meager, since we chose to treat our data on occupational mobility under the heading of economic adjustment rather than the present one. We shall here consider (1) several items which pit Italianism values against economic values, (2) property ownership, (3) work motivations and aspirations.

In Table II are presented three items which require the respondent to choose between loyalty to Italian values and economic values. The data show that only with respect to children's learning the Italian language is there strong preference for the Italian value among sample members. In the choice between Italian and Canadian stores with quality of goods specified as comparable and price not mentioned, only 30 per cent said they would shop in the Italian store; most subjects (57 per cent) indicated that they were not sure. When it was specified that prices were higher in the Italian store, the preference for the Canadian store became overwhelming (82 per cent).

Property ownership was very common among sample members. Almost two-thirds of the sample (65 per cent) own Canadian property and another 36 per cent own Italian property. Twenty-two per cent own both, 43 per cent own only Canadian property, 14 per cent own only Italian property, and 22 per cent own none. Four out of five (82 per cent) of the property owned in Canada was just a house, and 89 per cent of the Italian

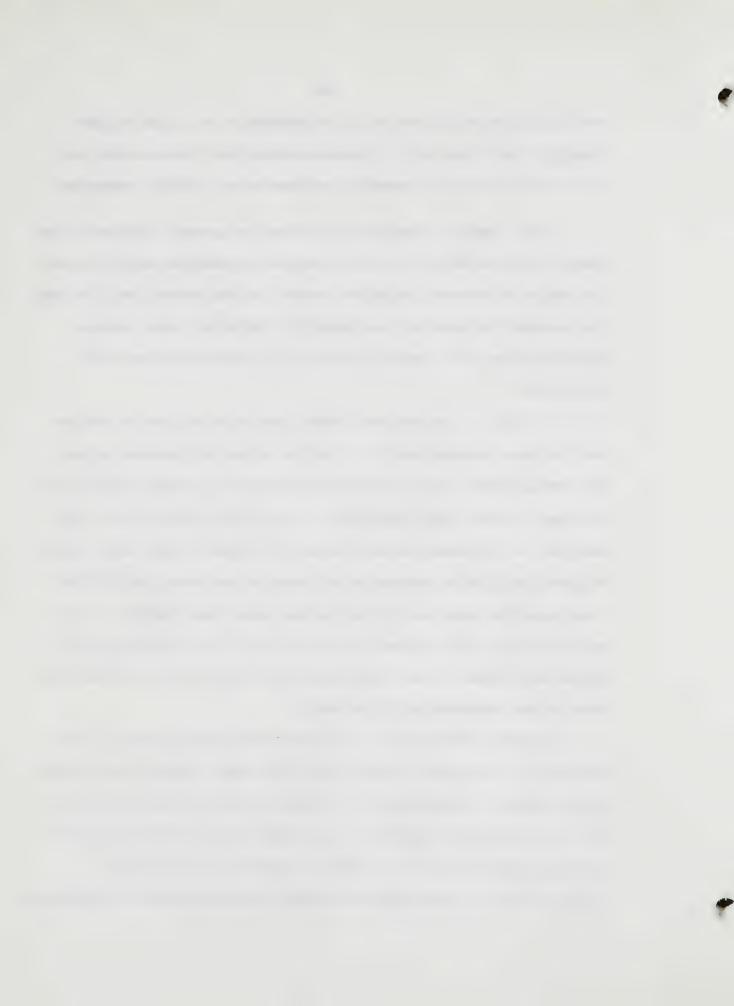


TABLE II

RESPONSES TO ITEMS CONTRAPOSING ITALIAN VALUES AND ECONOMIC VALUES

Provided that the merchandise is of the same quality do you prefer to buy in a Canadian or Italian store?

	Italian Store	Canadian Store	Indifferent	Total
Number	125	53	237	415
Per Cent	30.1	12.8	57.1	100.0

If you had the choice of buying in a Canadian store in or a store where only Italian was spoken, but where prices were a little higher, and could get the same things in both stores, where would you choose to buy?

	Italian Store	Canadian Store	Not Sure	Indifferent	Total
Number	41	336	27	6	410
Per Cent	10.0	82.0	6.6	1.5	100.0

Would you rather have your son or daughter go to an Italian language school on Saturday morning than have them take a part-time job where they could work for their spending money?

	Yes	No	Total
Number	388	17	405
Per Cent	95.8	4.2	100.0



property was a house or a small piece of farm land. These figures show that property ownership is remarkably widespread among sample members, and that their economic investment in Canada is much heavier than it is in Italy.

The measure of work motivation which is available in the data is the Protestant Ethic score. This was obtained by scoring responses to six items such as, "Would you say that the worst thing about being sick is that your work does not get done?" and "Would you say that it is all right for a man to take off from work now and then if there is something else he would rather do?" The items are scored in such a way that a high Protestant Ethic score indicated high involvement with work and productivity, rather than enjoyment. Unfortunately, there are no norms available for a comparable Canadian sample, so these scores will be useful primarily in making comparisons between sub-groups of the sample. However, we are able to compare the scores of the Italian sample with the scores of the Ukrainian sample which has been mentioned before. This comparison shows that the Protestant Ethic mean score of the Italian sample, 22.3, was higher than the mean for the Ukrainian sample, 20.2, and suggests that dedication to work and productivity which is one of the values of North American society is a high value among the members of the sample.

The data which are available on occupational aspirations of subjects are of no use in evaluating the economic integration of sample members, but they will be helpful in making comparative statements about different sub-groups of the total sample. Accordingly, we, at this point, shall describe only the broad pattern of responses to the item, "If you could do anything you wanted, what kind of a job would you like



to have?" One-third of the sample said they did not wish for any change.

6.5. Religious Integration. Four items in the questionnaire are relevant to the religious integration of Italian immigrants: the church membership of the respondents, their frequency of church attendance, their ratings of their own religiosity, and their dependence on the church as a source of information.

The interview data show that a very large proportion of the sample, 84 per cent, attend the Santa Maria Goretti (Italian) Catholic church which is located on the eastern periphery of the Italian community, and all but two of the rest go to other non-Italian Catholic churches in the city. One of the two exceptions is Protestant, and the other belongs to no church. Note that the proportion who attend the Italian Catholic church is much larger than the proportion which now lives in the Italian community (42 per cent). The proportion of sample members who have joined non-Italian Catholic churches suggests a minimum of integration in this area.

The subjects' ratings of their frequency of church attendance and their extent of religious interest are clearly useful in making comparisons between sub-groups of the sample. Beyond that, our data appear to indicate that higher levels of religious involvement are characteristic of less well integrated subjects, and this is supported by the fact that a high proportion of the sample members are from simple peasant backgrounds in South Italy. Thus, a decline in involvement with the Italian Catholic church is often associated with the growth of other,



more Canadian, interests. This is relevant to the fact that just half the sample reported attending church once a week or more frequently, and only 18 per cent reported attending less than once a month. The data on self ratings of religious involvement substantiate the attendance data. Just half of the subjects rated themselves as "very religious" and only ten per cent rated themselves as "not very" or "not at all" religious.

A final index of dependence on the church is the extent to which immigrants depend on it as a source of general information which is helpful in their daily life. Subjects were asked to what extent the church was an important source from which they "found out bout things"— and "things" was specified only as "things important to you." One-fifth of the respondents said that the church was useful to them in this way.

Although comparable Canadian data are not available it appears that the level of religious integration of sample members into Canadian society is relatively low: an overwhelming proportion yet belong to the Italian Catholic church; attendance is at an unusually high level and involvement is at a high level by Canadian standards. It is our impression that the sample members look to the church to "find out about things" more than other Canadians do.

6.6. Linguistic Integration. One problem which every immigrant to a linguistically different country must solve is that of mastery of the language of the new country. A minimal acquaintance is often pre-requisite to obtaining employment, and shopping for necessities. In time it may be prerequisite to adequate communication with one's children, to occupational advancement, to the obtaining of citizenship.



A result of these circumstances is that the immigrant is often quite ambivalent about both his native and his adoptive language. He is eager for mastery of the latter because it is prequisite to much that he seeks, but he fears that his children will lose his mother tongue.

A number of items in the questionnaire reflect the English language limitations of the sample members. Eighty-six per cent of the sample speak only Italian to their wives or husbands, and only 6 per cent speak only English to them. Three out of four speak only Italian to their children and only nine per cent speak only English to them. Only 30 per cent read English magazines or newspapers. One hundred sixty-four subjects could not list any television programs that they watched, although all owned and watched television, apparently because their English facility was not sufficiently good for them to recall program names.

One of the reasons for nine-tenths of the respondents affirming that it would be a good thing for "Italians to get out and mix more with other Canadians" was that it would improve their English.

The English facility of the children was, of course, much better: half of the children spoke only English between themselves and only 31 per cent spoke only Italian among themselves, according to their parents' reports. One result of this situation, however, was a concern on the part of the parents lest their children lose their Italian facility. Ninety-seven per cent of all respondents said that they would like their children to "be able to speak, read and write Italian."

Younger respondents were asked, "Do you plan to make sure that your children will be able to speak Italian?" and 95 per cent answered "Yes."

When subjects were asked "Would you rather have your sone or daughter go to an Italian language school on Saturday mornings than have them take a part-time job where they could work for their spending money?" 96 per cent said that they would. Seventy-nine per cent said that they thought "It would be a good idea to establish an Italian elementary school, like a separate school."

It appears from these data that, (1) the English language facility of respondents was at a rather low level; (2) the facility of their children is rather good as one would expect, since they attend Canadian schools; (3) parents are extremely eager for their children to retain their English facility, be fluent in Italian, and would even advocate establishment of an Italian elementary school, thus sacrificing contacts with other Canadian children.

In general, then, it appears that the integration of the sample members may be described as somewhat low in the two areas where Italian identity is imminently involved: in religious integration and in linguistic integration.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND ECOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

The pattern of interrelationships between the three ecological integration variables, area of residence in Edmonton, and plans to move, and wishes to move in Edmonton, and the pre-migration independent variables are found in Table III. In respect to the second, attitudes of respondents toward moving residence, we shall comment on the characteristics of those who want to move in contrast to those who do not, and of those who want to leave the city in contrast to those who want only to move within the city. Younger and masculine subjects more often indicated their desire

TABLE III

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ECOLOGICAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE-MIGRA-TION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATION-SHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	sidence		s to Move to	S wishes to
17.	alian (munity		Italian Com- munity (NIC)	Move
Relationship of Indices				
to Ecological Integra-				
tion	-		÷	<u>±</u>
Daniel Warren Land Warring had a service to the service of the ser				
Pre-Migration Variables				
Demographic Age	0		- 5%	- 5%
Sex	0	Male	+5%	Male +1%
••••	ed <u>+</u> 1%		0	0
Ecological				
Rural-Urban Origins	0		0	0
North-South Origins	0		0	0
Social Class		T		
Education	0	Leave Canada	-2%	+2%
Occupation of Father	0		0	0
Man's last Ital. Occup.	0	Leave Canada	+.1%	+.1%
Personality		Canada		
Freq. of Church Att.	0		0	0
Chauvanism	+5%		-5%	0
A	130/	Leave Can,	+1%	0
Neuroticism	+1%	To NIC	0	+5%
Dogmatism Alienation	+5% +1%	To NIC	-2%	+5%

 $^{^{}a}+=$ direct relationship; -= inverse relationship; $\pm=$ curvilinear relationship; R= redundant relationship; 0= no significant relationship.



to move than did older ones. Among all who wanted to move, the wish to move within Edmonton was more frequent than the wish to leave the city, by a two to one majority, except for older men who wished to leave the city by the same majority. Most of those wishing to move within the city wished to leave the Italian community. The older men were equally divided among those wishing to go to Toronto, to other parts of English Canada, and to return to Italy. There was no relationship between the first variable and age or sex. Single respondents, doubtless because of brief Canadian residency, were over-represented in the Italian community and non-Italian community categories, and underrepresented in the "both" category. Contrary to expectation there was no significant pattern of immigrants from rural areas, or from the South of Italy, living more frequently in the Italian community than those from urban or Northern areas. Northern Italians more frequently wished to move within the non-Italian areas of the city, whereas Southern Italians more frequently wished to move within the Italian community.

The social class indicators—occupation of the father, education of the man and the man's last occupation in Italy—were not significantly related to area of residence. However, education is associated with the wish to move, such that those with higher education wish to move more often but not to leave Edmonton, whereas those with less education with to move less, but when they do they wish to leave Edmonton. Similarly, although almost two—thirds (62 per cent) of those who wish to move had higher occupational positions in Italy; it is the lower status people who want to leave Edmonton, while the higher status people more often want to move only within Edmonton.

It is clear that relationships between the demographic, ecological,

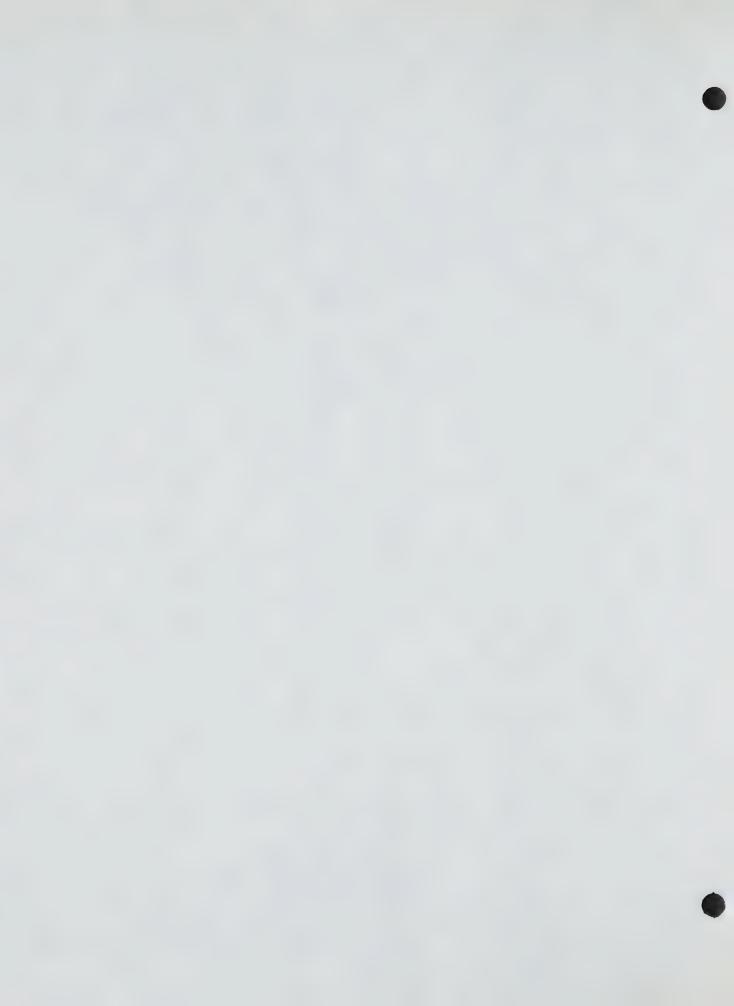


and social class pre-migration variables and the three ecological variables are spotty. However, when we turn to the personal adjustment variables it is/dramatically different story since eight of the ten relationships found there are significant. In all cases the high maladjustment scores are associated with residence in the Italian community. That is, high chauvinism, neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores are all associated with residence in this area. Among those who plan to move, low (adjustment implying) scores are associated with planning to move to the non-Italian community, and high scores are associated with planning to move to the Italian community and with planning to leave the province.

These data raise pressing questions about the direction of the causal sequence. Does the possessian of certain personality characteristics motivate settling in the Italian community, or does settlement there tend to create certain characteristics in those who live there?

It seems probable that both may be somewhat involved. Italian immigrants who are more fearful and anxious, perhaps paranoid—who would make higher neuroticism, dogmatism, alienation and chauvinism score—would probably be more likely to settle in areas having high concentrations of other Italians, feeling more at home and less fearful there. And, on the other hand, to the extent that life within the community was more Italian—ghetto like than life in other areas of the city, there would be less friendly association with other Canadians, less growth of mutual understanding, and more opportunity for feelings of fearful uncertainty and of alienation toward the larger society.

In summary, we have found a strong and consistent association of residence in the Italian community with personality scores skewed toward maladjustment. Such scores are also associated with planning to move to



the Italian community or to leave the province, whereas adjustment indicating scores are associated with plans to move to the non-Italian areas of the city. For two out of three indicators of pre-migration social class, lower class status was associated with plans to leave the province. Thus, personality adjustment and relatively high pre-migration social status are associated with tendencies toward ecological integration in our sample.

POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND ECOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

The relationships to be discussed in this section are found in Table IV. We shall first summarize the relationships between area of residence in Edmonton and the post-migration variables, and then those between plans to move and the post-migration variables.

Of the four interpersonal interaction variables, only one, having non-Italian best friends, was related to the criterion. Having non-Italian friends was significantly related to living in the non-Italian areas of the city. Four of the ten cultural exposure variables were related to the criterion. Readership of English magazines and newspapers, having many sources of information, and depending on the radio as a source of information (which is indicative of facility in English) were all significantly associated with living outside of the Italian community. Reading Italian magazines was associated with living in the Italian community. Note that duration of residence in Canada was not related to the criteria; there is no tendency for recently arrived



TABLE IV

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ECOLOGICAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Reside Italia Commun	an	Plans to Mov to Non-Ita- lian Communi	S Wishes
Relationship of Indices to Ecological Integra. Post Migration Variables:	-		+	+
Ecological Lives in Ital. Commun. Interpersonal Interaction	R		O NIC	0
Non-Italian Friends Relatives in Edmonton	-1% 0	Leave Canad	+5% ia -5%	+2% 1%
Close Italian Relations Ego-Sib Intermarriage Cultural Exposure	0	+to It.	Com1%	-1% 0
Duration of Can. Resid. Reads Ital. Papers Reads Eng. Papers Reads It/Eng. Magazines I	0 0 -1%	Leave NIC NIC	Can5% +5% +5%	0 0 .1%
Freq. Watching TV	ng -5%		0	0
Sources of Information Radio	-5%		0	0
People School Church	. 0	Leave	Can5%	0
Number of Sources of Info	5%	Leave	Can5%	0
Level of 1st Can. Job Level of Current Can. Job		•	Can5%	0 +1%
Mobility Comp/w Father Mobility Comp/w Last It.	Job O	Leave Leave It. Co		<u>+</u> 5% 0
Participation Score [s Naturalized	0 -1%	Leave	Can -5% leave+1%	+5%

 $^{^{}a}+=$ direct relationship; -= inverse relationship; $\pm=$ curvilinear relationship; R= redundant relationship; 0= no significant relationship.



immigrants to congregate in the Italian community and for those who have lived here some time to move out to other areas of the city, among our sample members.

One out of four personal status variables are significantly associated with area of Canadian residence. Those whose first job in Canada was relatively high status, as well as those who have been naturalized as Canadian citizens, tend to live outside of the Italian community. It is interesting to note that neither the man's current occupational level, nor the two measures of mobility, nor the size of the participation score were related to the criterion.

Turning to the plans of subjects to move or not to move, we find that three out of four of the interpersonal interaction variables were associated with the criterion. Planning not to move was characteristic of those having relatives in Edmonton, and having close relationships with Italians, whereas plans to move were more often reported by those having close non-Italian friends. Of those who do plan to move, those wanting to move to the Italian community or within it tend to have close relationships with Italian friends and relatives and to live with relatives. Those wishing to leave Edmonton, however, tend not to have either friends or relatives there. The reader will recall that only a very small number, 77 people, or 18 per cent of the sample, did not have relatives in the city. Forty-five per cent of all those in the sample who said they were planning to leave Edmonton came from this small group. Those having non-Italian friends usually expected to move into non-Italian areas of the city or within those areas.



Five of the ten cultural exposure variables were significantly related to the criterion. The wish to move was most often reported by those who read English magazines and newspapers, but they wished to move either into the non-Italian areas or within the areas rather than to leave the city. Planning to leave the city was associated with a short period of residence in Canada, with non-reading of English publications, with having few sources of information, and with failure to check the school as a source of information. Movement within the Italian community was associated with reading Italian newspapers and with not checking "people" as a source of information.

Two of the four social class variables were associated with the criteria. More frequent movement plans were characteristic of those with higher level current occupations, and men with both a high and a low level of occupational mobility. In the first case the mobility was within the city, whereas those with downward occupational mobility wished to leave Edmonton. Planning to leave Edmonton was also associated with a low level job as the first position in Canada. A high level first Canadian occupation was associated with planning to move within the Italian community. Naturalization and high participation scores were both associated with planning to move, either into or within the non-Italian areas of the city. Those who explicitly stated that they did not plan to become naturalized, those who had very low participation scores, and those who were unemployed tended, more than others, to wish to leave Edmonton.

In summary, residence in the non-Italian areas of the city is associated with a number of variables implying acculturation and integration; having close friends who are not Italian, readership of



English magazines and newspapers, having many sources of information, depending on radio broadcasts for information, obtaining a relatively high level first job in Canada, being employed full time, and being a naturalized citizen. It is noteworthy that it is not associated with duration of Canadian residence or with participation scores. Planning to leave Edmonton is associated significantly with a short duration of Canadian residence, with few primary relationhip ties, involving friends or relatives, with non-readership of English materials, with having few sources of information, with lack of interest in obtaining citizenship, with a low level first job in Canada, with unemployment, and with downward occupational mobility. In short, planning to leave the city is associated with non-acculturation, and with poor economic and social adjustment. Movement to the Italian community or within the Italian community is associated with living with relatives, with reading Italian papers, with a high level first Canadian position, and with upward occupational mobility in comparison with the last Italian occupation. Movement into the non-Italian areas of the city or between these areas is associated with a number of indications of successful adaptation to Canadian society and of involvement in this society.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The relationships between pre-migration variables and social integration which are discussed here are summarized in Table V. The table shows that the demographic variables, age, sex, and marital status, are among the most frequently related to the social integration indices. Maleness is associated with higher levels of social integration on all eleven of the indices; only with respect to number of relatives in



TABLE V

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CHI-SQUARE

	Mix More With Canadians	Close Non- Italian Friends	Relatives in Edmonton	How Often See Relatives	Relatives in sme Building	See It. Friends	See Non-It Friends	Non-It. Social Funct.	lctal Ass'n Fember	Total Ital. Ass'n
Relationship of Indices	S					All the state of t	ennining of the second of the			
to Social Integration Pre-Migration Variables	+ 0	+	-	-1-	+-	+	+	+	+	+
Demographic)			,		•				
Age	. 0	0	-2%	-1%	-1%	11%	%7-	-1%	0	0
	Male +2%	M. +2%	M +1%	M +1%	M +1%	M +2%	M +1%	5 +1%	M +1%	M +1%
Marital Status	0	M +5%	M -2%	M +5%	M1%	M1%	0		M 1%	M 1%
Ecological									,	
Rural-Urban Origins U		0			U -5%	U +1%	U +5%	0	U +5%	0
North-South Origins	N +2%	+5%	N1%	N - 1%	N - 1%	0	0	N 45%	N. +5%	0
Social Class										
Education	+1%	+.1%	1%	-5%	0	+1%	+5%	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%
Occup. of Father	+5%	0	-1%	-5%	-27%	+5%	+5%	47%	+.1%	O/
Man's last 1t.Occup.	+5%	0	1%	1%	-2%	+.1%	+1%	+2%	+ 1%	+1%
Personality										
Frequency of Ch. Att.	0	0	45%	0	0	+2%	0	0	0	0
Chauvinism	-5%	1%	-5%	+5%	+5%	+1%	77	-1%	0	0
Neuroticism	-5%	0	0	0	+5%	5%	0	0	0	% +1%
Dogmatism	00	15%	0	0	0	+5%	-5%	0	0	+2%
Alienation:	0	+2%	0	0	0	0	+5%	0	0	0
		dove								

curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship +1 = inverse malationship; a+ = direct relationship; significant relationship. no 11 0



Edmonton do women exceed men, and the men actually interact with their relatives more frequently than women do. Maleness is associated with frequency of interaction with relatives, with Italian friends, with having non-Italian friends and non-Italian close friends, with attending both Italian and non-Italian social events and with Italian association memberships. Thus, with respect to integration into both the Italian and the non-Italian communities, men are more involved than are women.

Age is also closely associated with social integration such that younger subjects have more integrative involvements than do older subjects. This is true only of younger women in the case of relatives in Edmonton and having non-Italian friends, and it is reversed in the case of having non-Italian friends, where older men have more than do younger men. But for relatives in the same building, frequency of seeing Italian friends and non-Italian friends, and attendance at both Italian and non-Italian social functions the younger subjects have higher involvement levels than the older subjects. It is noteworthy that this is true for indices of both Italian social integration and non-Italian social integration.

Singleness is associated with social integration on nine of the li indices. The explanation for this, however, is that almost all of the single subjects in the sample were young men, and we have already seen that youthfulness and maleness are associated with social integration. Accordingly, there is no need to detail the relationships between singleness and the social integration indices again.

Both of the ecological variables, rural-urban and region of Italian origin, are highly associated with the social integration



variables. The rural-urban variable is associated with eight out of ll social integration variables, and the region of Italian origin is also associated with eight out of 11. Urban origin is associated inversely with close relationships with relatives; with having fewer relatives in the city, visiting them less often, and less frequently living with them in the same building. It is associated directly with frequency of seeing Italian friends, with having non-Italian friends and with seeing them often, and with being in favor of mixing more with Canadians. It is also associated with attending non-Italian social events, and with membership in associations. Being of Northern Italian origing is associated with the social integration variables in a way very similar to urban origins. It is inversely associated with having relatives in Edmonton, with seeing relatives frequently, and with living in the same building with the. It is positively associated with having non-Italian close friends, and with favoring more mixing with Canadians. It is also associated with attending both Italian and non-Italian social events and with membership in associations.

The three measures of social class are all closely associated with the social integration variables, and all three are related in the same way to these variables. Occupation of the father is related to ten of the 11 social integration variables. Education of the man and level of the last position which he held in Italy are both related to all 11 variables. All three are inversely related to number of relatives in Edmonton, to frequency of visiting relatives, and to living in the same building with relatives. They are associated with frequent visiting of Italian friends, with having non-Italian friends, and non-



Italian close friends, with visiting them often, and with favoring more mixing with Canadians. They are associated with attendance at Italian and non-Italian social events, and with membership in associations.

The personality characteristic measures are variously associated with the social integration variables. Most closely related is the chauvinism measure which is significantly related to nine of the 11 criterion variables. It is inversely related to all four of the measures of integration with non-Italians—mix more with Canadians, see non-Italian friends, have non-Italian close friends, and attend non-Italian social events—and it is directly associated with five of the seven indices of integration with Italians. The two which it was not significantly associated with were total association memberships and Italian association memberships.

Neuroticism scores were significantly related to five of the criterion variables, dogmatism scores were related to four and alienation scores were related to three of the criterion variables. In all cases where these personality measures were significantly related to measures of integration with non-Italians adjustment indicating scores were directly related to the criterion. For neuroticism and dogmatism scores there was a direct association of measures of integration with Italians with more maladjustment indicating scores. There was a curvilinear relationship between alienation scores and relatives in Edmonton such that those with high alienation scores had either many relatives, or no relatives, in the city. There was a tendency for high alienation scores to be associated with membership in Italian associations.



In summary, maleness and youthfulness tend to be associated with integration with both Italians and non-Italians. Urban origin and Northern Italian origin tend to be associated with integration, with non-Italians, and with membership in associations; while rural origin. and Southern Italian origin tend to be associated with integration with Italians and with non-membership in associations or attendance at either Italian or non-Italian social events. Indices of higher social class position are almost always associated with integration with non-Italians as well as with attendance at Italian social functions and with having associational memberships. Indices of lower social class position are associated with integration with Italians, and with nonattendance at social events and non-membership in associations. High Italian chauvinism scores are associated with integration with Italians, and with non-integration with non-Italians. Indications of personality maladjustment tend to be associated with integration with Italians, whereas indications of personality adjustment are associated with integration with non-Italians.

POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The pattern of relationships between the post-migration variables and the social integration indices is found in Table VI. The data there show that four of the 11 relationships between area of residence and the criterion variables are statistically significant. For all four, living in the Italian area is associated with indices of Italian integration and non-integration with non-Italians, whereas the pattern for those who live in non-Italian areas is precisely reversed.



TABLE VI

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND POSI-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE MATURE OF CHI-SQUARE

Findices Findices Findices Findices Findices Findices Fundices Findices Findic		Mix More with	Relatives	How	Rela.	See Ital.	See Non- Ital.	Att. Italian	Att. Non- Italian	fotal Ass'n	iotal It. Ass'n
Indices tion tion tion tion tion tion tion tion texaction -5% +2% +0.0 0 0 -2% +2% -5% texaction -5% +2% +0.0 0 0 -1% +1% monton -5% +1% +1% +1% +1% +1% +1% n.Res. 0 0 -5% +1% 0 +1% n.Res. 0 0 -5% -2% +5% 0 +5% in the condition sofin. 0 0 -5% -2% 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0		Canadians	Edmonton	500	Blda	Fr.	Friends	Soc. Funct.	Soc. Funct.) ember.	Lembershin
Integration						MO - CHIEDLE CONTROL AND	Several factor con publication the children con the children to the children t	elle following was an appropriate for the mandern and control of the season of the character and		PROPAGO ACCIONACIONACIÓ PARABLACAMON VALABACAMON VA	The state of the first state of the state of
Ital. Com. Ital. Com. Ital. Com. Ital. Com. Ital. Interaction Ital. Main Relations Internations Internation	to Socal Integration	+	+	+	+	+	+	;		+	+
Ital. Com. 11	Ecological										
-5% +2% +2% +0.0 0 -:1% -R15 0 +11% -R15 0 0 -11% -R15 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Lives in Ital. Com.	0	+1%	0	0	0	-2%	+0%	1. 50.	C	C
onton -5% +2% +2% +0 -1% -R15 0 +1% his holds on -2% +1% +1% +1% +5% 0 0 -1% -R15 0 +1% -R15 0 0 -1% his high of the second of t	Interpersonal Interaction						ì	A /	2)	
onton -2%	Non-It. Friends	-5%	+2%	000	0	-:1%	-B3.5	0	+1%	+:1%	+15
riage 0 -5% +.1% 0 +1% +1% +1% +1% +1% +1% +1% +1% +1% +1%	Relatives in Edmonton	-2%		41%	+1%	+5%	0	0	~ ~ ~	0	0
riage 0 -5% 0 -5% +.1% 0 +1%	Close Italian Relations)	,
Res. 0 0 -2% -2% +5% 0 +5% 0 0 +5% 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Ego-Sib Internarriage	0	-5%	0	0	-2%	+.1%	0	米二	+1%	+5%
.Res. 0	Cultural Exposure									l	
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$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		0	-5%	0	0	+.1%	0	0	0	0	15%
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Reads Eng. papers	+1%	-1%	-1%	0	+1%	+.1%	+5%	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Reads It/Eng Mag.	+2%	1%	-1%	0	0	+.1%	45%	+.1%	+.1%	+1%
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o +1% +5% 0 +.1% 0 +2% 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 +5% 0 0 +.1% 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 -5% ob 0 0 0 0 +2% 0 0 -2% +.1% -5% +1% +.1% +.1% +.1% it.occ. 0 -1% 0 +5% 0 +1% 0 +2% t.1% 0 0 0 +1% R R	Radio	0	0	-5%	-2%	0	0	0	0	-5%	0
f In. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	People	0	+1%	45%	0	+.1%	0	+2%	0	0	0
f In. 0 +5% 0 +1% 0 0 -5% 0 0 +2% 0 0 0 -5% 0 0 0 0 0 +2% 0 0 0 0 0 0 +2% 0 0 0 0 0 +2% 0 0 0 0 0 +1% 0 +1% 0 0 +1% 0 +1% 0 +1% 0 +1% 0 0 +1% 0 +2% 0 +1% 0 0 0 +1% 0 +2% 0 +1% 0 0 0 +1% R R	School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+5%	0
f In. 0 0 0 0 $+2\%$ 0 0 0 0 0 $+2\%$ 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Church	0	+5%	0	0	+.1%	0	0	-5%	0	0
ob 0 0 0 +5% +5% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1	CE	0	0	0	0	0	+2%	0	0	+1%	0
ob 0 0 0 +5% +5% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1											
Job 0 -2% +.1% -5% +1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% +.1% er 0 -1% 0 0 0 +5% 0 +1% 0 +2% 11.0cc. 0 -1% 0 0 0 +1% +.1% R R		0	0	0	0	0	七%	古が	+.1%	+5%	+.1%
er 0 -1% 0 0 0 +5% 0 +.1% It.Occ. 0 -1% 0 +5% 0 +1% 0 +2% +.1% 0 0 0 +1% +.1% R R		0	-2%	+,1%	-5%	41%	+.1%	+,1%	+-1%	+1%	+.1%
1t.0cc. 0 -1% 0 +5% 0 +1% 0 +2% +2% +.1% 0 0 0 +1% +.1% R R		0	-1%	0	0	0	+5%	0	+	+1%	+.1%
+•1% 0 0 +1% +•1% R		0 .00	-1%	0	+2%	0	41%	0	+2%	+5%	0
	Participation Score	+.1%	0	0	0	十二%	+.1%	K	æ	æ	æ
	Is naturalised	45%	-2%	-5%	0	0	+.1%	0	+5%	+.1%	. 79

a See Table V, preceding.



To avoid spurious relationships it is only possible to relate all of the interpersonal interaction measures except intermarriage of self or siblings with attendance at social events and with associational memberships. In general, all the measures of interpersonal interaction are positively associated with both of these indices. There are some interesting apparent contradictions for which there is no clear explanation; for example, attendance at non-Italian social events is negatively associated with having relatives in Edmonton, but is positively associated with living with relatives.

The composite intermarriage index is a powerful predictor of social integration. It is associated with the criterion indices in seven out of eleven cases. Intermarriage is negatively associated with the Italian integration indices, and positively associated with the non-Italian integration indices and with both total association and Italian association memberships.

There is an interesting and at times surprising pattern of relationships between the cultural exposure indices and the social integration indices in Table VI. One would have thought that length of Canadian residency, would be the most powerful predictor of social integration. The table shows that length of residency is associated with nine of the eleven criterion variables; it is directly associated with integration with non-Canadians, attendance at non-Italian social events and with associational memberships. It is inversely associated with integration with Italians. However, a more powerful predictor yet is readership of English papers and magazines which are associated with eleven and ten, respectively, of the eleven criterion variables.



Reading English materials is associated negatively with having close relationships with relatives, positively with frequency of seeing Italian friends, and non-Italian friends and with attendance at both Italian and non-Italian social functions, and also with associational membership. Readership of Italian newspapers is inversely related to having relatives in Edmonton, having close friends who are non-Italians, and directly related to frequency of visiting Italian friends and to membership in Italian associations. It thus tends to be associated with achieved (rather than ascribed) integration with Italians.

Having many sources of information is directly associated with interaction with non-Italians and with number of total association memberships. In general, citing radio as a source of information was associated with indices of non-Italian integration, whereas citing people, and the church, as sources of information was associated with indices of integration with Italians. Less frequent watching of television was associated with having non-Italian close friends and with membership in associations.

All four measures of social class were highly related to the social integration indices. The most powerful predictor was current occupational level of the man which was significantly associated with all eleven of the criterion indices. In terms of non-Italian integration, higher level occupations are associated with few relatives and Italian friends in Edmonton, but with frequent visiting of the relatives and friends whom they have. Higher occupational placement is also associated positively with integration with non-Italians, with attendance at both Italian and non-Italian social events and with associational memberships. Essentially the same pattern, less consistently fulfilled,



is found associated with higher occupational placement in the first Canadian position and with the two measures of occupational mobility.

Naturalization is significantly related to the criterion variables in nine out of eleven cases. The pattern of relationships is very similar to that found between social class and the criterion indices, except that naturalization is not related to frequency of visiting Italian friends, and it is negatively related to frequency of seeing relatives. Participation scores were directly associated with four of the seven non-redundant social integration indices. Three of these relate to integration with non-Italians—having non-Italian close friends, frequency of seeing non-Italian friends and favoring mixing more with Canadians. One relates to integration with Italians, and frequency of seeing Italians friends.

In summary, it is clear that out of the overlap of the many interrelationships briefly cited above a rather distinct pattern emerges. Integration with Italians is associated with living in the Italian community, with brief Canadian residency, with non-readership of English publications, with not having intermarried, with few and traditional sources of information (people and church) with lower social class indicators and with being naturalized. Integration with non-Italians is associated with living in non-Italian areas of the city, with lengthy residence in Canada, with readership of English publications, with intermarriage, with depending on many sources of information, including radio, with indicators of higher social class status, with being a naturalized citizen, and with high participation scores. Associational membership is associated with lengthy residence in Canada, with living



with relatives and having non-Italian friends, with intermarriage, with readership of English and Italian publications, with indicators of higher social status, and with naturalization.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

The relationships between the pre-migration variables and the indices of political integration are found in Table VII. The data show that political involvement is primarily a characteristic of men in our sample, probably both because men are more often Canadian citizens and because politics is traditionally a masculine interest. Clder men have more often voted, doubtless because a higher proportion of them are citizens (52 per cent as against 30 per cent of the younger men), but younger men rate Dominion, Provincial, and Municipal politics as more important than do older men. Men are more critical of the incumbent Provincial administration than are women. Older men are more critical than are older women.

The reader will recall that two questions were included in the interview schedule relating to subject's satisfaction with their representation in government. One asked whether they thought that it was important to elect new Canadian candidates to represent the interests of other new Canadians, and the other asked if the respondent had ever voted for such a candidate even though he did not like the candidate's party. The response to the first was an overwhelming (93 per cent) yes. Only 18 subjects answered yes to the second item. Because of the extreme imbalance of these two sets of responses no detailed analysis of them



TABLE VII

INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL INTEGRATION INDICES AND FRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF CHI-SQUARE

	Voted Gen. Elec.	Voted Prov. Elect.	Domin. Politics Impor.	Provin. Politkcs Impor.	Municip. Politics Impor.	Like Manning Govern.	Pref. in Federal Govern	
Relationship of Indices to Political Integration Pre-Migration Variables Demographic	-	+	-		+	electrica descriptos de misso del militar de descriptos de mesodos de la composição de la c		
Age	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%	+1%	-1%	0	
Sex	0	0	M+1%	M+1%	M+1%	图1%	0 ;	
Marital Status	0	0	0	0	0	S-5%	0	
Ecological Rural-Urban Crigins	0	0	+1%	0	C	C	O	
North-South Origins	0	0	N+1%	N+1%	N+1%	N-1%	0	
Social Class								
Education	+.1%	+1%	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%	-1%	0	2
Occup. of Father	0	0	+1%	+1%	+2%	-5%	-5%	93
Man(s last It. Occ.	0	0	+1%	+5%	15%	-5%	45%	
Freq. of Church Att.	0	0	0	0	+5%	0	0	
Chauvinism	0	0	-5%	-0×	0	0	0	
weuroticism	33	-5%	1%	1%	-1,0	0	0	
Dogmatism	12%	-1%	0	0	0	0	0	
Alienation	0	0	-2%	1%	-5%	0	-5%	

R = redundant relation- $^{\mathrm{a}}+$ = positive relationship; - = negative relationship; $^{\mathrm{a}}=$ curvilinear relatioship; ship; 0 = no significant relationship.



will be made. The first set gives eloquent testimony of the extent to which the sample feels different from the rest of the Canadian populace. The age/sex breakdown of the answers to these two questions shows that the older men feel this more strongly than the younger men; all but one of the former responded yes to the item, while 88 per cent of the latter did, and 92 per cent of the women did. Ten per cent of the older men reported having voted for a new Canadian candidate even though they did not like the candidate's party, and six per cent of the younger men did, while only one of the women did. These data suggest that younger men feel less alienated from other Canadians than older immigrants do.

Northern Italians are more involved in National, Provincial and local politics than are their Southern compatriots, and they are more critical of the Provincial government. Subjects from an urban background are more interested in Dominion politics than are those from a rural background.

The social class variables show the strongest relationships with the political integration indices of all the pre-migration variables. Education is significantly related to all seven of the indices; more educated subjects voted more frequently, were more interested in national, provincial, and municipal politics, and were more often opposed to the Provincial and the Federal administrations. The pattern of relationships for those whose fathers had higher status occupations and who had higher level occupations themselves in Italy are the same except that these variables are not significantly related to having voted in either election.



A number of the personality indices are closely associated with the political integration variables. It is remarkable that church attendance is associated with only one of the seven; frequent attendance is associated with rating Municipal politics as very important. High chauvinism scores were inversely associated with rating Dominion and Provincial politics as important. High neuroticism scores were inversely associated with voting in the general and Provincial elections and with rating Dominion, Provincial and Municipal politics as important. Dogmatism is inversely related to voting in the Provincial election and related in a curvilinear fashion to voting in the general election, such that those who voted tended to have high, and low dogmatism scores. Alienation scores were inversely related to interest in Dominion, Provincial and Municipal politics, and to favoring the incumbent Federal government.

In summary, we have noted first the fact that Italian immigrants feel strongly their differences from other Canadians, and almost unanimously wish for special representation of their special problems; though young men feel this less often than do older men. Men are more interested in politics than women and young men more interested than older men, although older men have voted more frequently than their juniors. Northern Italians, those from higher social class backgrounds, and those with low chauvinism, low neuroticism, and low alienation scores are more interested in politics than their opposites. Having voted is associated with higher educational attainment, and with low neuroticism and low dogmatism scores. The tendency to be critical of the Provincial and/or the Federal administrations is associated with being male, with being a Northern Italian, and with being from a higher social class background and with high alienation scores.



POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

The relationships between the post-migration variables and political integration are presented in summary form in Table VIII. The data show that for five of the seven political integration indices, living in non-Italian areas of the city is significantly associated with political involvement, that is, with voting in the Federal and Provincial elections and with interest in Dominion, Provincial and Municipal politics. It is not related to tendencies to be critical of the Provincial or the Federal governments.

Three of the four interpersonal interection indices were significantly associated with six of the seven criterion variables. The close relations with Italians index was inversely associated with voting in both elections. It was associated with interest in Dominion, Provincial, and Municipal politics in a curvilinear fashion such that those with close relationships and those with minimum relationships have minimum interest. Having close relationships was associated with approval of the Provincial administration. Having non-Italian close friends and relatives through intermarriage was associated directly with voting in both elections, with interest in politics at all three levels, and with the tendency to be critical of the Provincial administration.

Many of the cultural exposure variables are significantly related to the indices of political integration. Length of Canadian residence is associated with six of the seven indices. It is directly associated with having voted in both elections, with interest in politics at all three levels, and it is related to attitude toward the Provincial administration in a curvilinear fashion such that those who have been



TABLE VIII

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FOLITICAL INTEGRATION, INDICES AND FOST-LIGRAFICN VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF CHI-SQUARE

	Gen. Elect.	Prov. Elect.	Domin. Politics Impor.	Provin. Politics Imper.	Munic. Politics Impor.	Like	Prefer in Fed.	
Relationship of Indices to Political Integration Post-Migration Variables Ecological	+	+		+		+	+	
Lives in Ital Comm. Interpersonal Interaction	Non +1% Non	Non +5%	Non +5%	Non +5%	Non +5%	0	0	
Non-Italian friends Relatives in Edmonton	+.1%	+1%	+.1%	+.1%	+1%	1%	0 (
Close Italian Relations Ego-Sib Intermarriage	+1%	777	141+ 145/2 141+	72,4	+1+2%	8 % - - - - - - - - -	000	
Cultural Exposure				0/1	0/ 7 • 7	0/T • T	>	
Duration of Can. Resid.	+.1%	+.1%		+1%	+.1%	+.1%	0	
Reads Italian papers		0		0	0	0	0	
		+•1%		+.1%	+.1%	1%	0	29
	Eng +1%	Eng+1%	Eng +1%	Eng+1,%	Eng+1%	Eng 176	Eng -1%	7
Sources of Information		0		0	0	% 20	0	
Radio	0	0	0	0	O	+1%	C	
People	0	0	-2%	-5%	-5%	+1%	0	
School	0	0	0	0	+5%	0	0	
Church	0	0	0	0	0	0	C	
Number of Sources of Inform. Social Class	+1%	45%	+5%	45%	0	%17		
Level of 1st Can. Job	+5%	+5%	+1%	+2%	+0%	С	C	
Level of Current Can. Job	0	0	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%	0	0	
Wobility Comp/w father	0	0	+5%	0	0	0	0	
Mobility Comp/w last It. Job	0	0	+2%	+5%	0	0	0	
5	+1%	+1%	+1%	+.1%	+.1%	-1%	0	
Is waruralized	1%	1%	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%	1%	+5%	

 $a_{+}=$ direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; \pm = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.



in Canada a very short time and a very long time are more critical. The indices of readership of English publications are associated significantly with all seven of the criterion variables. They are associated directly with having voted in both elections, with interest in politics at all three levels, and with the tendency to be critical of both the Provincial and the Federal administrations. Reading of Italian newspapers is associated only with an interest in Dominion politics. The pattern of those who mention having many sources of information is the same as that of readership of English publications, except that those with many sources of information are not significantly more critical of the Federal administration. Mentioning people as a source of information is associated with lack of interest in politics at the Dominion, Provincial and Municipal levels. Infrequent viewing of television is associated with interest in Dominion politics and with being critical of the Provincial administration.

In general, indices of social class are directly associated with interest in politics at all three levels. Only level of the first position in Canada was associated, directly, with voting in elections, and none of the social class indices were associated with a critical attitude toward the Provincial or the Federal administrations. Being naturalized is, of course, associated with voting in both elections. It is also directly associated with interest in politics at all three levels, and with being critical of the Provincial and the Federal administrations. Those who indicated that they will not become naturalized also were more critical of the government administrations.

In summary, voting in the two elections was associated with living



in non-Italian areas of the city, with having few relations with relatives and Italian friends and with having non-Italian close friends: with reading of English publications; with lengthy residence in Canada; with intermarriage; with many sources of information and with having held a high status first Canadian job. Interest in Dominion, Provincial and Municipal politics is associated with living in non-Italian areas, with close relationships with Italian and non-Italian friends but not with relatives, with lengthy residence in Canada, with reading English publications, with not citing "people as a source of information, with having many sources of information, with indices of higher social class position, and with being naturalized. Criticisms of the Provincial administration are associated with few relationships with family, with having close non-Italian friends, with very long or very short residence in Canada, with reading English publications, with being intermarried, and with being naturalized already or rejecting naturalization. Criticism of the Federal administration is associated with reading English magazines and with being already naturalized or rejecting naturalization. In brief then, those indices which indicate close residential and interactional association with non-Italians, which indicate extensive acculturation, and which indicate higher social class attainments are associated usually with interest in politics and with voting, and frequently with a critical attitude toward government administrations.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The relationships betwen the pre-migration variables and economic integration are presented in summary form in Table IX. The data indicate



TABLE IX

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ECONOLIC INTEGRATION INDICES AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE NATURE OF AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	buy Italian Store	Buy Italian Store	Own Can. Property	Own Ital. Property	Protestant Ethic	Aspirations Self	for
Relationship of Indices to Economic				Administration and plane the experience of these College College College College Annual Annual College Annual College	ell freschille film freschille freschille freschille film fres	refused to the state of the second design of the second se	CONT. N. CONT.
Integration	i	ŧ	+	ı	+	+	
Pre-wigration Variables							
Demographic							
Age	+5%	+5%	+5%	+5%	0	Men -1%	
Sex	0	0	0	0	M +1%	0	
Marital Status	0	0	M +5%	M +5%	0	. +5%	
Ecological							
Rural-Urban Origins	0	0	0 -5%	U -1%	0	0	
North-South Origins	S +5%	S +1%	0	0	N -5%	0	
Social Class							3
Education	-2%	15%	1%	0	0	+1%	300
Occupation of Father	0	0	-2%	+2%	0	+1%)
Man's last Italian Occup.	71%	0	-5%		0	0	
Personality							
Freq. of Church Attendance	+1%	+.1%	+5%	0	15%	0	
Chauvinish	+2%	0	+5%	0	0	-1%	
Meuroticism	+2%	0	+5%	0	0	-1%	
Domarism	0	0	-1%	0	0	-5%	
Alienation	0	+5%	0		0	-5%	

4+ = direct relationship; - = inverse relationship; ± = curvilinear relationship; R = Redundant relationship; 0 = no significant relationship.



that older men more frequently advocate buying in Italian stores, and more frequently own both Canadian and Italian property, and tend to aspire to higher level jobs than do younger men. The only sex difference found was that men and women had different job aspirations.

Urban residents owned both Canadian and Italian property less frequently than did respondents who came from rural areas. Southern Italians more frequently advocated buying in Italian stores, and had lower Protestant Ethic scores than did Northerners. Educational level was inversely associated with preference for buying in Italian stores as was level of the husband's last occupation in Italy. All three Italian social class indices were inversely related to ownership of Canadian property, but level of the father's occupation was directly related to ownership of Italian property.

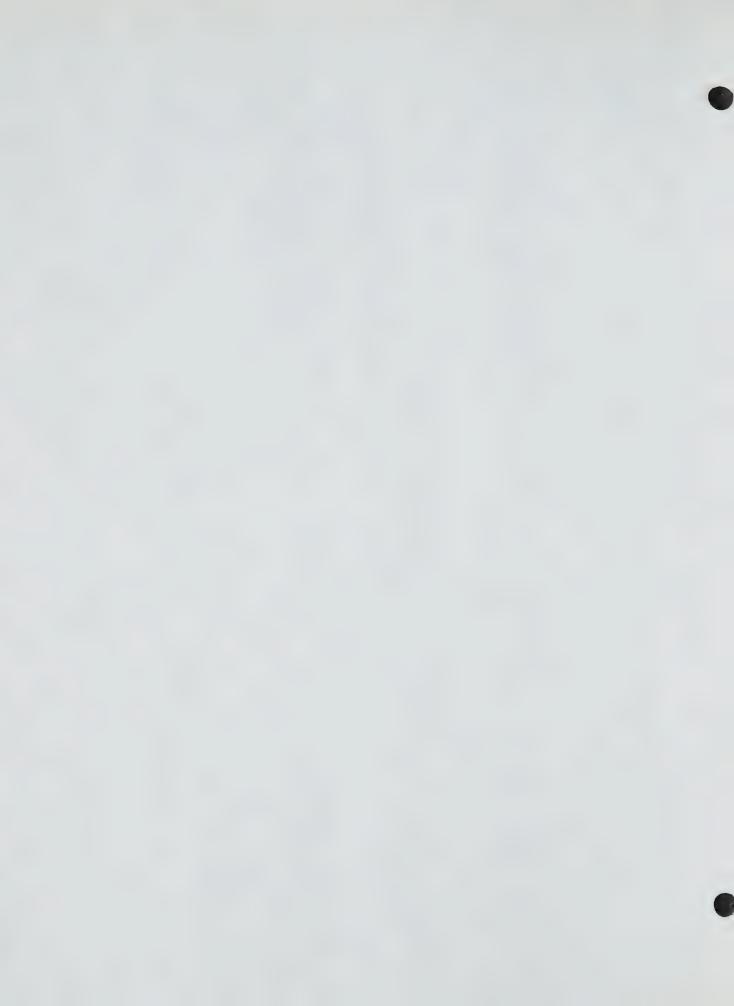
Turning to the personality measures, we find that chauvinism scores were directly related to preference for buying in Italian stores, and inversely related to Protestant Ethic scores. Neuroticism scores are directly associated with shopping in Italian stores, with ownership of Canadian property, and inversely associated with level of aspirations for self. Dogmatism was inversely associated with ownership of Canadian property. Alienation scores were directly associated with buying in Italian stores and inversely associated with level of aspiration for self. Frequency of church attendance is associated only inversely with Protestant Ethic Scores.



In summary, a rather spotty pattern emerges from this detailing of the relationships between the pre-migration variables and the indices of economic integration listed here. The syndrome is quite clear with respect to those who prefer to shop in Italian stores—older men, from Southern Italy, with low levels of education, who worked at unskilled jobs, who have high chauvinism, neuroticism, and alienation scores. Interestingly enough the pattern describing those who own Canadian property is rather similar; older men, from rural areas, from lower class Italian backgrounds, with high chauvinism and neuroticism scores and (in contrast to the previous pattern), low dogmatism scores. It is clear from this that ownership of Canadian property is associated with a peasant type of syndrome rather than a higher Italian social class type of pattern.

Ownership of Italian property is associated only with older men from higher social class rural backgrounds. High Protestant Ethic scores are associated with men from the Northern part of Italy who attend church infrequently and who have low chauvinism scores. High self-aspirations are associated with older men from higher Italian social class backgrounds who have low neuroticism, low dogmatism, and low alienation scores.

Thus, we may generalize by saying that preferring to patronize Canadian stores, not owning Canadian property, having high Protestant Ethic scores, and having high aspirations for self are a part of a pattern of well adjusted integration into Canadian society. This can be seen emerging in the pages of this chapter and the previous one.



POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The relationships between the post-migration variables and the economic integration indices are presented in summary form in Table X. The pattern of relationships between the independent variables and the criterion indices is again a thin and spotty one. Residence in the Italian community is associated only directly with ownership of Canadian property. Having close non-Italian friends is associated inversely with shopping in Italian stores, with owning Canadian and Italian property, and directly with Protestant Ethic scores, and with high self-aspirations. Having close relationships with relatives is associated directly with buying in Italian stores, inversely with ownership of Canadian property, and inversely with Protestant Ethic scores.

Turning to the cultural exposure indices, duration of residence in Canada is associated inversely with buying in Italian stores and directly with owning Canadian property and with level of self-aspirations. Reading English publications is associated inversely with buying in Italian stores and with owning Canadian property and directly with Protestant Ethic scores and with level of self-aspirations. Reading Italian papers is associated only directly with Protestant Ethic scores. Intermarriage is associated inversely with ownership of Canadian property and directly with level of self-aspirations. Having many sources of information is associated inversely with ownership of Canadian property and directly with Protestant Ethic scores. Mentioning the school as a source of information is associated only with preferring to live in the city even though it may weaken Italian culture. Citing the church as a



INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ECOMOMIC INTEGRATION VARIABLES AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE MATURE OF CHI-SQUARE

	Buy It.	Buy It.	Own Can.	Own Ital.	Protestant	Aspirations for
	Store	Store	Property	Pronerty	Ethic	Self
Relationship of Indices to Economic						
Integration	i	i	+	ı		1/4
Post-Migration Variables						
Ecological						
Lives in Ital. Commun.	0	0	+2%	0	0	0
Interpersonal Interaction						
won-Italian Friends	-1%	-2%	1%	-5%	+2%	+5%
Relatives in Edmonton	+2%	0	0	0	-5%	0
Close Italian Relations	+1%	0	0	0	0	0
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	. 0	0	-5%	0	0	+2%
Cultural Exposure						
Duration of Can. Resid.	-5%	0	+.1%	0	0	+7%
Reads Ital. Papers	0	0	0	0	+1%	0
Reads Eng. Papers	-1%	0	-1%	0	+5%	
Reads It/Eng. Magazines	11%	0	-5%	0	+1%	41% 30
Freq. Watching IV	0	0	0	+5%	0	4
Sources of Information						
Radio	0	0	0	0	0	0
People	+2%	0	0	0	0	0
School	0	0	0	0	0	0
Church	0	0	-5%	0	77	0
Number of Sources of Info.	0	0	-0%	0	+1%	0
Social Class					4	,
Level of 1st Can. Job	0	0	-5%	0	+2%	0
Level of Current Can. Job	-5%	0	12%	0	+2%	0
Abbility Comp/w Father	0	0	-5/5	-5%	0	+2,0
Wobility Comp/w last Itl Job	0	0	1-1%	0	0	+5%
Participation Score	1%	0	15%	0	0	***
Is naturalized	-5%	0	+2%	0	0	+1%
serqui des descriptions que o dela qui destinia (EV 9 descripción el dela descripción del misque del descripción del misque del descripción del misque del descripción del	A ALTHOUGH A SEAL, John A REST OF EARTH AREAS AND A SEAL AND A SEA		SAUTHER AND GOOD GOAL OF THE CONTINUE OF THE C	de entre de la company de la desemble de la company de la	ered value englessgroundport/ter de essegridade/dissegridade/value/	The second secon

- = inverse relationship; + = curvilinear relationship; R = redundant relationship; a+ = direct relationship; 0 = no significant relationship/



source of information is associated inversely with ownership of Canadian property, and directly with preference for living in the city, with Protestant Ethic scores, and with level of self-aspirations.

The social class indices correlate, in only one out of eight cases inversely, with buying in Italian stores, in every case inversely with ownership of Canadian property, and in one case, inversely, with ownership of Italian property. They correlate directly in two cases with Protestant Ethic scores and in two cases directly with level of self-aspirations. Naturalization correlates inversely with buying in Italian stores, directly with ownership of Canadian property, and directly with level of self-aspiration.

In summary, preference for shopping in Italian stores correlates directly with close relationships with relatives, inversely with having close non-Italian friends, with length of residence in Canada, with readership of English publications, with one index of social class, and with naturalization. Ownership of Canadian property correlates directly with living in the Italian community and with length of residence in Canada, inversely with intermarriage, with reading English publications, with citing the church as a source of information and with number of sources of information, and with all four indices of social class, and directly with naturalization. Ownership of Italian property correlates inversely with having non-Italian close friends and with one index of upward mobility, and directly with frequency of television viewing. High Protestant Ethic scores are associated directly with having close non-Italian friends and inversely



with closeness of relationships with relatives, directly with reading of English and Italian publications, with having many sources of information and with citing the church as a source of information and with three measures of social class. High self-aspirations are associated directly with having non-Italian close friends, with duration of residence in Canada, with reading English publications, with two measures of social class and with naturalization.

Again it is apparent that preferring to patronize Canadian stores, not owing Canadian property, having high Protestant ethic scores and having high self-aspirations are part of an emerging pattern of well adjusted integration into Canadian society.

PRE- AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION

The term religious integration may be somewhat misleading and perhaps also somewhat presumptuous. Its meaning is clear if we use it in the sense of the breakdown of self-segregating tendencies in a congregation, as when an Italian Catholic congregation which has huddled together and preserved numbers of Italianisms in church programs begins to scatter, joining other non-ethnic Catholic churches which are closer to their homes. In this section we shall be using religious integration in this, as well as in other senses.

The term religious non-integration may be validly used, however, when the religious beliefs or practices of a group are so diverse from those of the majority of the population that the members of the group are inevitably marked and perhaps stigmatized in the eyes of the majority group in the pupulation. The Hutterites and Dukhobors, Crthodox Jews,



Seventh Day Adventists, and Jehova's Witnesses are just a few examples of groups which have been religiously non-integrated into the society in which they have lived. For such a group the concept of religious integration implies the weakening of commitment to beliefs and practices which have been the source of distinction of the group and thus the process of loss of visibility as an identifiably different group.

It is apparent that the Italians in our sample are atypical in comparison with the rest of the Canadian population in terms of their frequency of church attendance and their ratings of religiosity. The impact of Canadian society on these aspects of Italian values and behavior will inevitably tend to be to modify them toward the direction of the Canadian norm. We shall also consider this development in this section under the heading of "religious integration" since it has to do with changes in the religious sphere which make for smoother integration of Italians into Canadian society.

In this section then we shall consider religious integration in these two senses—the first being religious integration, and the second, more precisely, acculturation with respect to religion.

The relationships between the pre-migration variables and the religious integration and acculturation indices are found in Table XI and the relationships between the post-migration indices and the religious integration and acculturation indices are found in Table XII. We shall consider both tables jointly and shall treat church membership as an index of religious integration, with membership in a Canadian Catholic church as reflecting more of integration. Degree of religiosity, frequency of church attendance, and mentioning the church as a source of information are taken as indices of religious acculturation with the



TABLE XI

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION INDICES AND ACCULTURATION AND PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Attend non- Italian Church	Religiosity	Church Atten- dance	
Relationship of Indices	to			
Religious Integration as	nd			
Acculturation	+	_	, mark	gon
Pre-Migration Variables				
Demographic				
Age	0	0	0	0
Sex	0	0	0 -	Male +5%
Marital Status	0	0	0	0
Ecological				
Rural-Urban Origins	+1%	0	0 U	Jrban −5%
North/South Origins	0	0	0	0
Cultural				
Occupation of Father	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0
Hol. Ital. Occup.	. 0	0	0	0
Personality				
Att. Ch. Freq.	. 0	R	R	+1%
Italian Chauvinism	1%	+5%	0	0
Neuroticism	0	+5%	0,	0
Dogmatism	-5%	+.1%	+5%	+.1%
Alienation	- 5%	0	0	0

 $^{^{}a}+=$ direct relationship; -= inverse relationship; $\pm=$ curvilinear relationship; R= redundant relationship; 0= no significant relationship.



TABLE XII

INTERRELATIONSHPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION AND ACCULTURATION INDICES
AND POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATION OF THE NATURE OF THE
RELATIONSHIP^a AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

	Attend Non-		Church	Church as
	Italian		Atten-	
	Church	Religiosity	dance	Information
Relationship of Indices				
to Religious Integration				
and Acculturation	+		-	-
Post-Migration Variables				•
Ecological .				
Lives in Ital. Commun.	1%	. 0	0	0
Interpresonal Interaction	3			
Non-Italian Friends	0	0	0	. 0
Relatives in Edmonton	- 5% .	+5%	0	+5%
Close Italian Relations	-5%	+1%	+5%	· + 5%
Ego-Sib Intermarriage	+5%	. 0	0	0
Cultural Exposure				
Duration of Can. Resid.	+1%	-1%	0	0
Reads Ital. papers	0	0	0	0
Reads Eng. Papers	0	- 5%	0	-1%
Reads It/Eng. Magazines	+1%	0	+5%	Eng -5%
Freq. Watching TV	0	0 .	0	0
Sources of Information				
Radio	0	0	0 .	-2%
People	0	0 .	0	0
School	. 0	0	0	+.1%
'Church	-5%	+1%	+2%	R
Number of Sources of Int	fo. 0	0	0	+.1%
Social Class				
Level of 1st Can. Job '	0	0	0	0
Level of Current Can. Jo	ob 0 •	0	0	0
Mobility Comp/w Father	0	0	-5%	0
Mobility Comp/w last It.	.Job 0	0	-1%	0
Participation Score	0	0	0	0
Is Naturalized	+.1%	-5%	O W	ill be +.1%

 $^{^{}a}+=$ direct relationship; -= inverse relationship; $\pm=$ curvilinear relationship; R \mp redundant relationship; O = no significant relationship.



reply reflecting less of religious involvement signifying mcre acculturation.

Considering religious integration first, the data in the tables show that religious integration, that is, membership in non-Italian churches, is significantly associated with urban residence in Italy, low scores on chauvinism, dogmatism, and alienation, with living in non-Italian areas of the city, with lengthy residence in Canada, with having no relatives in Edmonton, with intermarriage, with reading English magazines, and with not being naturalized.

Turning to the religious acculturation indices, we find that men more frequently mention the church as a source of information than do women, as do respondents from rural and from Southern parts of Italy. High chauvinism, neuroticism and dogmatism scores are related directly to self-religiosity ratings. Dogmatism is also related directly to frequency of church attendance and to citing the church as a source of information. None of the social class measures were related to the criterion indices.

Among the post-migration measures, having relatives in Edmonton is directly related to self-ratings of religiosity and to citing the church as a source of information. Having close relations with Italians is directly associated with all three indices of religious acculturation. Reading of English publications is inversely associated with religiosity and with citing the church as a source of information. Number of sources of information, and citing the school as a source of information are directly associated with citing the church as a source of information, whereas citing the radio is inversely associated with this index.

Both social mobility indices were inversely associated



with frequency of church attendance, but they were not associated with either of the other two indices. Subjects who are naturalized rated themselves as less religious, and checked the church as a source of information more often than those who indicated that they intended to become naturalized.

In summary it appears that being from Southern and rural areas of Italy, having low scores on chauvinism, neuroticism, and dogmatism, living in the non-Italian community, having few relationships with relatives, reading English publications and being naturalized were associated with religious integration and acculturation, as defined above. It is noteworthy that the demographic variables, both the premigration and the post-migration social class indices, and most of the cultural exposure indices were little related to the criterion. Changes in religious attitude and involvement appear to be a function of personality, area of Italian origin, duration of Canadian residence, readership of English, and of not being too strongly tied to the Italian kinship groups.

PRE-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION

The reader will recall that earlier, in the descriptive discussion of linguistic integration there were presented data indicating that almost 100 per cent of the respondents wanted their children to be fluent in the Italian language, and that they were willing to make some sacrifices to facilitate this. Because of the near unanimity of response to these items they will not be analyzed in terms of their association with pre-migration and post-migration variables, since there is no distribution to the responses. We will, however, analyze two other



sets of data; the linguistic patterns in respondents' families, and facility in the reading of English as indicated by the reading of English magazines and newspapers.

The relationships between the pre-migration variables and those two sets of linguistic integration data are found in Table XIII. The data in the table show that men both speak and read more English than women and that younger subjects read more English than older ones do. There are no age differences in speaking behavior. Children of younger couples speak more Italian, no doubt because the school has as yet had little impact on them. Since the unmarried people in the sample are mostly young men it is as expected, they read more English than married subjects.

Urban subjects read more English than do rural subjects but there is no more English spoken in their homes, between parents or children. Northern Italians speak more English to their mates and their children, and read more English than do the Southern Italians in the sample.

All three measures of pre-migration social class, occupation of father, education of subject and last occupation of husband before leaving Italy correlate directly with the reading of English. Better educated subjects speak more English to their mates and to their children than do less well educated subjects. Although the level of the man's last work position in Italy is not associated with his own English speaking, it is directly associated with English speaking by the children, for some unknown reason.

The personality measures were generally little related to the



TABLE XIII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LINGUISTIG INJEGRATION INDICES AND FRE-HIGRATION VARIABLES WITH THE MATURE OF THE RELATION-SHIP BETWEEN SHIPP AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS OF CHI-SQUARE

Profit for any provided at the contraction of the c	to Shouse	Language Spoken Between Children	Language Spoken To Children	Reads Eng. Faners	Reads Eng/ital
Relationship of Indices to		And the state of t	and discovered participation of the second contract of the second co	And design and the second seco	Information of the control of the co
Linguistic Integration	Eng +	Eng +	Eng +	Eng +	Eng +
Pre-Wigration Variables			•	>	1
Demographic			,	1	
Age		Young +1%	0	Young +1%	Young +5%
Sex	Male +1%	0	Male +1%	Male +1%	Male+1%
Marital Status	0		0	Marr1%	Marr 1%
Ecological					
Rural-Urban Origins	0	0	0	0	Urb +2%
North-South Origins	+1%	0	+1%	No. +.1%	Nor +1%
Social Class					
Education	**- **- **- **- **- **- **- **- **- **-	0	+.1%	+.1%	3 %1.+
Occupation of Father	0	0	0	+ 1%	13
Man's last Ital. Occup.	0	+5%	0	+ 1%	+ 130
Personality					
Freq. of Church Atten	0	+2%	0	0	0
Chauvinism	-2%	-5%	-2%	1%	-1%
weuroticism	0	0	1%	- 1%	-1%
Dogmatism	0	0	0	-1%	-1%
Alienation	0	0	0	-1%	1%

See preceding Table



linguistic integration indices, except for the Italian chauvinism measure. It was inversely related to use of English on all five indices. Neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation were inversely related to reading English publications. They were unrelated to spoken language patterns except for neuroticism which was inversely related to speaking English to the children. Frequency of church attendance was unrelated to the criterion indices except that children whose church attendance was high more frequently were reported as speaking both English and Italian among themselves. This probably reflects the influence of the church on their retention of Italian.

In summary, speaking English to their mates and to their children was more frequently reported by subjects who were male, were Northern Italian, were better educated, and who had low chauvinims and neuroticism scores. Children's speaking Italian among themselves occurred more frequently when the parents were younger and the father's last job in Italy was an unskilled one. Children who attended church frequently more often spoke both English and Italian. The reading of English publications was more frequently reported by subjects who were male, were younger, were from Northern, and urban parts of Italy, were from higher class Italian backgrounds and who had low chauvinism, neuroticism, dogmatism, and alienation scores.

POST-MIGRATION VARIABLES AND LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION

The relationships between the post-migration variables and the linguistic integration data are found in Table XIV. The data show that residence in the non-Italian areas of the city is associated with 'more frequent reading of English publications, but is not associated with



TABLE X1V

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION INDICES AND POST-WIGRATION VARIABLES WITH INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THE CALLENIE OF CHI-SQUARE

	Language Spoken to Spouse	Language Spoken †c Children Between	Language Spoken To Children	Reads Eng. Papers	Reads Eng/ Ital Magazines
Relationship of Indices to Linguistin Integration Post-Migration Variables	Eng +	Eng +	Eng +	Eng +	Eng +
Ecological Lives in Ital. Comm. Interpersonal Interaction	0	0	0	-1%	-5%
Non-Italian Friends Relatives in Edmonton	% % T T	+5%	+ • 1	+.1%	**
Close Italian Relations Eco-Sib Intermarriace	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	000	× 0 1	\$ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\	11.6
Cultural Exposure	2		0/ T • 1	V 1 • 1	T. I./3
Duration of Can. Resid.	+.1%		+2%	+ 1%	+ 1%
Reads Italian papers		Ital +5%	Ital +1%	+1%	+1%
Reads English papers	+.1%	0	+.1%	C .	M
Reads It/Eng magazines	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%	Œ	æ
Freq. Watching IV	0	0		-5%	0
Radio	0	C	C	C	C
People	Φ	+1%	+2%	12%	> 0
School	+5%	七%	+5%	0	0
Church	0	+5%	+2%	1%	0
Number of Sources of Information Social Class	0	0	+1%	+ 1%	42%
Level of let Canadian job	+.1%	42%	+.1%	+.1%	+.1%
Level of current Canadian job	0	0	0	+.1%	+1%
Mobility Comp/w father	+5%	0	0	+.1%	+.1%
Mobility comp/w last Italian job	+5%	+5%	0	+.1%	+.1%
Farticipation Score Is Waturalized	+1%	+1%	+.1%	+.1%	+++

a See preceding table.



more frequent use of English by the parents or by the children.

The indices of interpersonal interaction patterns show that the presence of relatives in Edmonton is consistently associated with the non-use of English in the home and with not reading English publications. Having non-Italian close friends, on the other hand, is associated with all five indices of English facility. Living with relatives is associated with greater use of Italian between children, but it is not associated with any of the other criterion indices.

If we turn to the indices of cultural exposure we find that duration of Canadian residence and intermarriage are directly associated with all five of the indices of English facility. Reading of English magazines and newspapers is associated with the speaking of English in the home, and the reading of Italian newspapers is associated with the speaking of Italian in the home. Having many sources of information is associated with reading English publications, and with speaking English to the children, Citing the school as a source of information is associated with more use of English in the home and, surprisingly, citing the church as a source of information is associated with more frequent speaking to the children in English. It is inversely associated with the reading of English newspapers, however.

All of the measures of social class are directly associated with the reading of English publications. Both measures of mobility are directly associated with speaking English to the mate, and mobility as compared with the first Canadian job is associated with more speaking of English between the children and to the children as well. The level of the husband's current occupation is directly associated with

speaking English to the mate and to the children. Since facility in English is one of the prerequisites of naturalization to citizenship it is not surprising that naturalization is associated with all five indices of English language facility.

In summary, speaking English to the wife and to the children is associated with lengthy residence in Canada, with having few relatives in Edmonton and non-Italian close friends, with intermarriage, with reading English publications, with looking to the school as a source of information, with upward occupational mobility on alboth a indices, with higher occupational level of the husband, and with naturalization. Speaking English between the children is associated with lengthy residence in Canada, with not living with relatives and having close non-Italian friends, with intermarriage, with reading English publications, and with naturalization. Reading English publications is associated with living in non-Italian areas of the city, with lengthy residence in Canada, with having few relatives in the city and having close non-Italian friends, with intermarriage, with having many sources of information, and with upward occupational mobility on indices, and with the husband's having higher level occupations both at the time of his first arrival in this country, and currently. In brief, it is clear that exposure to Canadian influences, in terms of duration and area of residency, in this country, exposure to non-Italians in friendship and marriage, and movement to higher occupational levels are all associated with English language facility.

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